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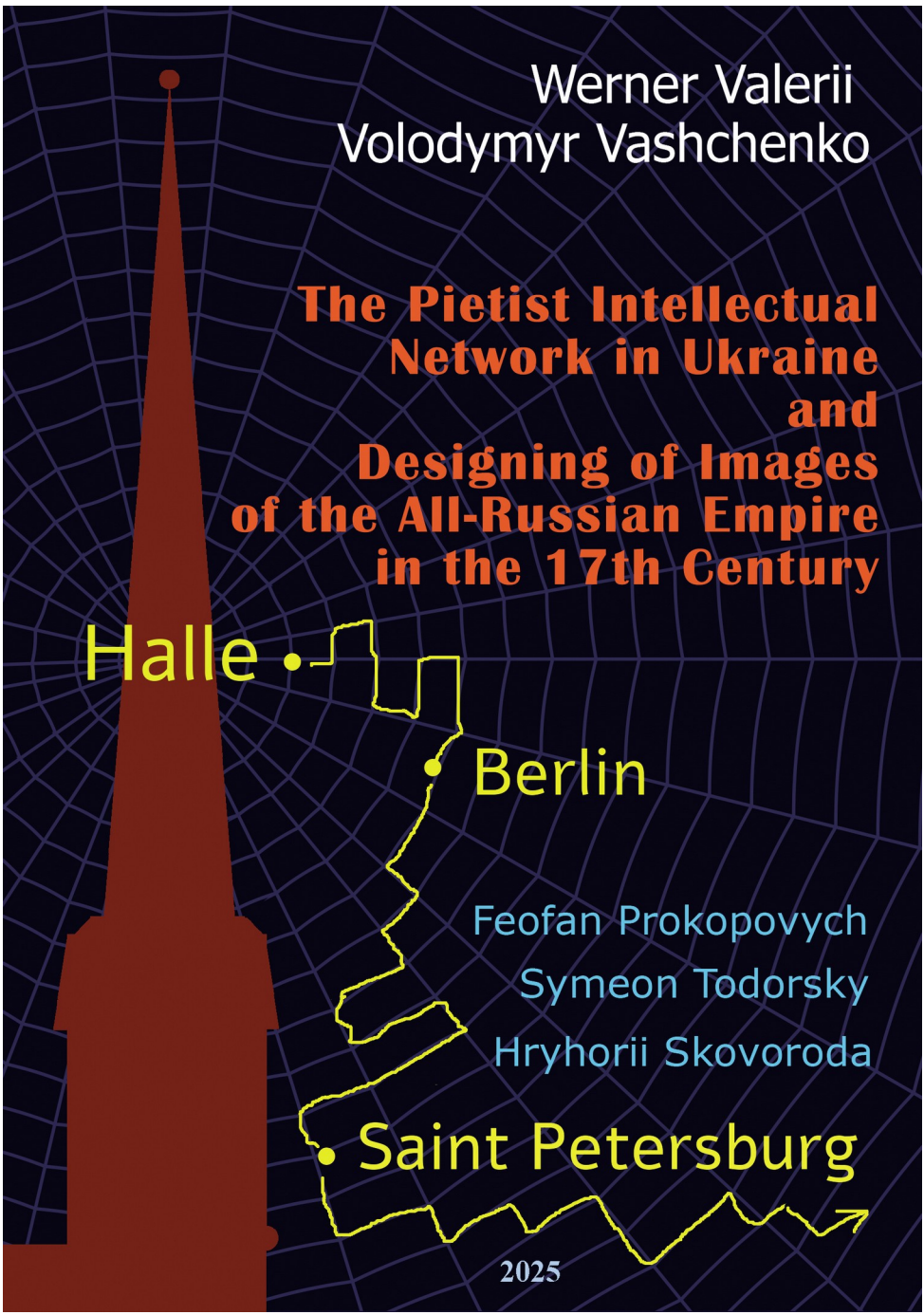
# The Pietist Intellectual Network in Ukraine and Designing of Images of the All-Russian Empire in the 17th Century

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# The Pietist Intellectual Network in Ukraine and Designing of Images of the All-Russian Empire in the 17th Century

# (From F. Prokopovich to H. Skovoroda)

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The Pietist intellectual network in Ukraine and the construction of images of the All-Russian Empire XVIII c. - Dnipro: Accent PP, 2023. - 156 c.

The authors study the formation of the pietist intellectual network of the end of the XVII - XVIII c. with the center in Halle (Prussia) and its spread to the territory of the Muscovite Empire (All-Russian Empire) by its "agents" - iconic representatives of the intellectual landscape of Ukraine (F. Prokopovych, S. Todorsky, G. Skovoroda). The religious-ideological and geopolitical strategy developed at the initiative of the leading figures of Prussian pietism at the turn of the XVII-XVIII c. emphasized the spiritual reformation of the territory of Muscovy as a "bridge" on the way of German Protestant missions to China, Persia and India. The main initiators and actors of this strategy were the universal genius of the Age of Enlightenment Gottfried Leibniz and the religious thinker - the leader of Prussian pietism A. Franke. It was under their influence through the activity of F. Prokopovich, the organizational structure and dogmatics of the Orthodox Church were replaced by the Lutheran model, and through the educational activities of H. Pans in the lands of Ukraine, pietist Protestant ideas penetrated the level of mass culture. The vision of the past proposed by the authors denies two basic mythologies that continue to shape the idea of the emergence of the project of the All-Russian Empire in the 18th century. First, the study denies the subjectivity of the political elite of Muscovy and its monarch, which was manifested in the thesis that Tsar Peter I "cut a window to Europe" with his geopolitics. The authors note that the newest empire on the territory between Europe and the borders of Persia and China arose as a "foreign project" - a window that was "opened" by the pietists of the University of Moscow. Halle was totally controlled by the Protestant entourage of the Russian monarch and his successors. Secondly, the book refutes the myth that the "westernization" of Muscovy was the result of Peter I's policy. The authors prove that the project of the All-Russian Empire, as well as the Prussian kingdom, was created by Prussian pietists according to "orientalist models" - with an orientation to the popular in the 18th century. the image of the Chinese Empire" as an ideal state.

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**Валерій ВЕРНЕР**

**Володимир ВАЩЕНКО**

# Пієтистська інтелектуальна мережа в Україні та конструювання образів Всеросійської імперії XVIII ст

## (Від Ф. Прокоповича до Г. Сковороди)

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Пієтистська інтелектуальна мережа в Україні та конструювання образів Всеросійської імперії XVIII ст. - Дніпро: Акцент ПП, 2023. - 156 с.

Автори досліджують формування пієтистської інтелектуальної мережі кінця XVII - XVIII ст. з центром у м. Галле (Прусія) та її розповсюдження на територію Московського царства (Всеросійської імперії) її «агентами» - знаковими репрезентантами інтелектуального ландшафту України (Ф. Прокоповичем, С. Тодорським, Г. Сковородою). Релігійно-ідеологічна та геополітична стратегія, що розроблялася з ініціативи провідних діячів пруського пієтизму на зламі XVII-XVIII ст. робила наголос на духовному переформатуванні території Московії як «мосту» на шляху германських протестантських місій до Китаю, Персії та Індії. Головними ініціаторами та акторами цієї стратегії виступали універсальний геній доби Просвітництва Готфрід Лейбніц та релігійний мислитель - провідник пруського пієтизму А. Франке. Саме під їх впливом через діяльність Ф. Прокоповича відбулася заміна організаційної структури та догматики православної церкви на лютеранську модель, а через просвітницьку діяльність Г. Сковороди на землях України пієтистські протестантські ідеї проникли на рівень масової культури. Запропонована авторами візія минулого заперечує дві базові міфологеми, котрі продовжують формувати уявлення про виникнення проєкту Всеросійської імперії у XVIII ст. По-перше, дослідження заперечує суб'єктність політичної еліти Московії та її монарха, котра проявилася у тезі, що цар Петро І своєю геополітикою «прорубав вікно в Європу». Автори зазначають, що новітня імперія на теренах між Європою та кордонами Персії і Китаю виникла як «чужий проєкт» - вікно, котре було «відчинене» з боку пієтистів ун-ту м. Галле й тотально контролювалося через протестантське оточення російського монарха та його наступників. По-друге, у книжці заперечується міф про те, що наслідком політики Петра І була «вестернізація» Московії. Автори доводять, що проєкт всеросійської імперії, як і пруського королівства, створювався пруськими пієтистами за «орієнталістськими взірцями» - з орієнтацією на популярний у XVIII ст. образ Китайської імперії» як ідеальної держави.

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# INSTEAD OF FOREWORD

"At the beginning of the eighteenth century, among all East and South Asian countries, China was the primary focus of European scholars; by the end of the century, India had become the most widely discussed.[1]"

It can be said that at the turn of XVII - XVIII c. Europe was not just interested - it fancied China. China was the first civilization discovered by Westerners that could neither be ignored nor destroyed. Moreover, he could not be integrated into the space of European cultural identity.

The monopolistic source and inspiration of these collective delusions of European intellectuals about China were the reports of the Jesuit missions, which from the middle of the 16th century. tried to quickly digest the Chinese cultural heritage and present their success in the Christianization of the Celestial Empire as best as possible.

Against the background of the great continuous all-European religious war of the 17th c. - the war of "all against all", which covered the European continent from Spain to Muscovy; against the background of the great wars that began around 1700 (the War of the Spanish Succession, the Northern War, the Great Turkish War), the illusory picture of a stable and still enigmatic Chinese civilization led by a wise emperor based on rational laws and guided by Confucian ethics could and did appear to be the attractive utopian ideal that inspired the European monarchs of the time of the early Enlightenment in order to build their own "ideal" empires.

Actually, the peak of European interest in China fell precisely in 1700-1710. A convincing indicator of this interest is the dynamics of the publication of books devoted to the empire in the East. So, in the first decade of the beginning of the XVIII century. saw the light of 599 works about China: "During half a century from 1600 to 1649, Chinese literature appeared in moderate quantities, from 32 to 47 titles per decade. Later, the volume of publications increased — 75 titles in the 1650s; 95 titles in the 1660s; and 99 titles in the 1670s. The numbers continued to rise from 1680 to 1700: 155 titles in the 1680s, then 175 titles in the 1690s… Output fell

[1] Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India (Vol. I - III) / Ed. by Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, Heike Liebau. - Halle: Franckesche Stifhingen, 2006. - P. 34.

to 324 titles in 1710-1719 and continued to decline until a bottom was reached with 76 titles published in 1760-69 years. [2]"

Such was the informational context in which two influential actors —the Kingdom of Prussia (1701) and the Russian Empire (1721)— emerged almost simultaneously on the stage of European geopolitics. The Chinese model of constructing an "ideal monarchy" naturally held great appeal for the German political and religious elites, who moved freely within the unified framework of the entities referred to as "[P]russia" and "Russia." At the time of their formation, it was precisely that "...China served as a canvas for a social and political utopia, as an ideal of absolutist educated states and, thus, as a yardstick against which the actual European state of affairs had to be measured."[3]

One of the main obstacles to directly adopting the "Chinese experience" was the Celestial Empire's affiliation with the hermetic "civilizations of the borders," which initially restricted access to outsiders. Only in the 16th century did members of the Society of Jesus succeed in entering the imperial court, establishing a substantial missionary network within the Eastern Empire.

The Jesuits' informational monopoly on Asia was significantly weakened in 1692, when Emperor Kangxi issued the "Edict of Tolerance," granting Christians equal status with other religions and permitting missionaries of various denominations to preach freely throughout the empire. This development made the prospect of Protestant missions— especially those from the German states—entering China more relevant and achievable than ever before.

At the very moment when the model European monarchy—the illustrious French kingdom under Louis XIV—revealed its hostility toward Protestant Christians by revoking the Edict of Nantes in 1685[4], distant and still enigmatic Asia, embodied by the powerful and stable "Confucian Empire," opened wide the gates of the Great Wall to Christians of all denominations, revealing the characteristics of a true "enlightened monarchy."

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[2] Fuchs T, European China-Receptions from Leibniz to Kant // Journal of Chinese Philosophy. - 2006. - № 33. - P. 37.

[3] Ibid. - P. 41

[4] On October 17, 1685, Louis XIV signed the Edict at Fontainebleau, which revoked the Edict of Nantes of 1598, which guaranteed Protestants ("Huguenots") freedom of religion in Catholic France.

Thus, by the end of the 17th century, Europe looked to Asia and discovered a perfectly planned and rationally organized empire—somewhat idealized and in stark contrast to itself—marked by stability, peace, and religious tolerance.

Moreover, an event on the remote frontier between Muscovy and China drew significant attention across the European continent and ultimately reshaped perceptions of the Chinese Empire's territorial boundaries: the signing of the first international treaty with China—the Treaty of Nerchinsk.[5]

Since the signing of this document, Europeans finally came to understand where China began—and it began where Muscovy ended. To reach the longed-for China and to "evangelize" it, Europe first had to expand to its borders. This implied that semi-Asiatic Muscovy had to become part of Europe—to transform into "Russia," or the "All-Russian Empire"—and to adopt a favorable stance toward evangelical denominations and their missions directed toward China.

Through the efforts of Muscovy's "internal" Europeans—the spiritual elite of the Hetmanate, primarily educated at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and various European universities—and "external" Europeans, particularly "German" Protestants during the reign of Peter I, Muscovy was gradually transformed into a pro-European Russia. A key premise of this transformation was a local analogue to China's *Edict of Tolerance*: in 1702, Peter I issued a decree proclaiming freedom of religion. This paved the way for the launch of Protestant missionary activity in both Muscovy and China.

But who were these various figures, and what were their intentions?

On the path toward the dream of an idealized Asia, German and Ukrainian-Russian intellectuals developed two strategies of "soft" European colonization and evangelization of Muscovy—strategies that can be broadly classified as economic and religious-ideological.

Moreover, the first strategy not only allowed for the second—it actively anticipated it. The economic approach aimed to revive the "Great Silk Road," extending from the Hanseatic cities of the Baltic, through Muscovy, to Persia (Iran) and China. Yet it was also conceived as an evangelical mission, echoing the events described in Chapter VII: "In most

[5] "Treaty of Nerchinsk" is a peace treaty between the Muscovite Kingdom and the Qing Empire (1689, Nerchinsk). The treaty defined the border between the two states for the first time.

of these regions, they [missionaries] met Christian communities that had lived there since the beginning of Christianity or since the time of the peace mission that began in Persia, which created a network of Christian communities along the Silk Road and reached China in the seventh century.[6]"

The network of Hanseatic cities in the Baltic acted as a material resource for the implementation of the economic strategy of expansion to the East. Its financing was taken over by the merchants of Hamburg. This strategy was proposed to the Holstein (Gottorp) ruling house in the early 1930s. XVII ct.

1. securing control over the logistical corridor in the Baltic region, in alignment with the route outlined by the Kruse-Olearius embassies;
2. establishing a new residence in the Baltic to oversee the logistics route to Asia;
3. relocating the Holstein-Gottorp dynasty to this residence and consolidating authority over the entire route.

The first two stages were realized during the reign of Peter I, amid the Northern War, with the founding of the German residence city of St. Petersburg in 1703, which became the administrative center of German colonial governance.[7]

The third stage was completed during the reign of Catherine II (Sophia Augusta Frederica of Anhalt-Zerbst-Gottorp), when, through her marriage to Peter III (Peter Carl Gustav), full power in the All-Russian

[6] Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India (Volume I - III) / Ed. by Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, Heike Liebau. - Halle: Franckesche Stifhingen, 2006. - P. 42.

[7] The process of founding by the pietist network of two residence cities — Berlin and St. Petersburg — followed parallel paths and followed the same patterns. At the time when Peter I was "building" his "capital", similar processes were taking place on the territory of Prussia: "Berlin on March 18, 1709. The capital of Brandenburg-Prussia only two months before had become a city of 50,000 inhabitants through the union of the independent towns of Berlin, Cologne, Friedrichswerder, Dorotenstadt and Friedrichstadt" (Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India (Volume I - III) / Ed. by Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, Heike Liebau. - Halle: Franckesche Stifhingen, 2006. - P. 575). In the relevant literature, St. Petersburg is mistakenly recognized as the "capital" of the state - a simple declaration - without reference to any official document: "St. Petersburg was designated as the official capital of Russia in 1712" (Appleby J. H. The Founding of St. Petersburg in the Context of the Royal Society's Relationship with Russia // Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London, - 2003 (Sep.). - Vol. 57. - No. 3. - P. 279).

Empire was consolidated in the hands of the Holstein-Gottorp branch of the House of Oldenburg.

This vision—formulated by Pietist missionaries—of a new "Silk Road," actively pursued at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, aimed to link the German trading centers of the Baltic Sea coast with the idealized Asian realms of the great Eastern empires. To realize this plan, it was essential to establish a strategically positioned German outpost in the Baltic. This outpost would ensure secure control over both trade and missionary logistics, as well as over the resource base within the territory of Muscovy.

Such a colonial center, which was supposed to ensure the German trade route to Asia, became the city with the German name "St. Petersburg.[8]" As the German researcher Dietrich Geyer (D. Geyer) writes in this regard: "With this city, not only Russia got a "window" into Europe, but rather Europe should get a window here.[9]" It was built as a "standard" "apostolic city" (Cv. Peter) according to the ideals of the Christian "pietist utopia[10]" - according to the same model characteristics, according to which the center of global pietism and the newly-insurgent kingdom of Prussia was built at the same time — the city of Berlin.

Pietists were indeed the first globalist Protestants. Relying on the state structures of Prussia, they "did not seek to restore the Protestant Church; they aimed to reform the world." These were people of action, who took on both the political arena and the impoverished slums that plagued Prussia in

[8] So, at the beginning of the 20s, XVIII Art. the city gave 1/20 of the profits of the entire empire: "By the beginning of the 1720s, the new capital absorbed almost 5 percent of the total income of the Russian Empire: from 10 to 30 thousand workers worked here every year; thousands more were drafted in place of those who lost their lives in trying to sink the sure foundations into the quagmire." (Dixon S. Catherine the Great. Harper Collins, 2009.. - P. 41).

[9] Geyer D. Peter and St. Petersburg // Yearbooks for the History of Eastern Europe, New Series - 1962 (July). - BD10, H2. - p. 194.

[10] "...the Hanoverian envoy appropriately called St. Petersburg a 'wonder of the world.' Such foreign verdicts have helped build the city's strong reputation as a fantastical place where everything is not as it seems. Tsar Peter and his image-makers did everything possible to strengthen the illusion, giving the place he called his "paradise" a symbolic meaning, designed to transform it at once into New Amsterdam (symbol of trade and prosperity), New Rome and New Constantinople (symbols of power and royalty) and, last but not least, New Jerusalem, symbol of piety and devotion, "coming down from heaven from God" and divided in two "a river of water of life" (Revelation 21:2; 22:1)" (Dixon S. Catherine the Great. Harper Collins, 2009. - P. 42).

the early 18th century. Like the Jesuits, they were deeply committed to education: once a Pietist, always a Pietist.[11]

And the first stronghold of their globalist project in the east became St. Petersburg.

Thus, St. Petersburg and Berlin were the creation of the same religious pietistic spirit, the project of the same "global architect" - with the essential difference that the newly created city on the Baltic was only a "branch" of Berlin and depended on it in all hierarchical senses - first of all, theological, educational, functional, and later, starting with Peter III and Catherine II - in dynastic.

The "internal" function of St. Petersburg paralleled that of Berlin in the Kingdom of Prussia. This alignment reflected the lexical-semantic framework of the German colonizer-missionaries, who envisioned a Pietist project for new Lutheran states. These states were divided into "residence cities" (Stadt-Residenz) and "capital cities" (Haupt-Stadt).[12] Berlin, as the

[11] [1] MacDonogh G. Frederick the Great. A Life in Deed and Letters. - N.-Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1999. - P. 25. “Although at first the Pietists viewed their reform as an internal matter of the church, by the 1690s the resistance of Lutheran orthodoxy to their innovations forced the Pietists to seek protection from secular governments. A few regimes, notably those of the Prussian kings Frederick I and Frederick William I (d. 1740), did come to support the Pietists, allowing them to survive as a movement but forcing them to reconsider their earlier negative attitude towards collaborationism. with the state". (National Literacy Charts Historical and Comparative Perspectives / Ed. by Robert F. Arnove and Harvey J. Graff. - N.-Y.: Springer Science and Business Media, 1987. - P. 40.) On the other hand, the Prussian state gladly relied on the Pietists: "... the Electors and Kings of Prussia not only learned to make the most of the modest human resources allocated by nature... they... encouraged and benefited from the Prussian ethos of duty. At its core was "pietism", a reform movement in Lutheranism that received a huge boost in the second half of the seventeenth century..." (Blanning T. Frederick the Great: king of Prussia. - N.-Y.: Random House, 2016. - P. 16).

[12] As you know, there is no legal document that would testify to the transfer of the capital of the Muscovite Kingdom from Moscow to Moscow in 1712. St. Petersburg. For example, Empress Catherine II did not know that the city of St. Peter was the capital of her empire. Having just seized power as a result of a military mutiny, the empress issued the famous decree of July 22, 1763 on the freedom of Christian religion, which was supposed to encourage foreigners to colonize the empire. There are the following lines: "...in Our residence in St. Petersburg or in places located near it in Livonian and Estonian, Ingermanland Karelian and Finnish cities, as well as in the capital city of Moscow for five years..." (Manifesto of Catherine II of July 22, 1763 “On the permission of all foreigners entering Russia to settle in the provinces they wish and on the rights granted to them” / German colonists in the Age of Catherine. - M.: Drevlekhranilishche, 2004. - P.23). As you can see, "Our residence in St. Petersburg" is different from the capital in Moscow.

"residence city" of the Prussian royal court, stood in contrast to Königsberg —the "capital city," which retained its symbolic role as the coronation site of Prussian monarchs. Similarly, Moscow preserved its status as both capital and coronation center for Russian emperors.

Notably, the first newspaper of St. Petersburg—and thus the earliest German-language newspaper outside ethnic German territories—targeted a German-speaking audience: the colonizers' culture. The Petersburgische Zeitung (1728–29) exemplified this cultural imprint.

Historically and symbolically, this "new city on the Baltic" was framed as a "reincarnation" of Veliky Novgorod—the "first capital of Russia." The mythologized Novgorod, with its cult of Alexander Nevsky and ties to the Hanseatic League, provided a legitimizing narrative for St. Petersburg's colonial identity.

The city's colonial character was later noted by Nikolai Gogol in the early 19th century. In 1836, reflecting on Russian nationhood, he observed St. Petersburg's fragmented society:

"It resembles a European-American colony: so little native nationality, so much foreign admixture, yet unassimilated. Its nations are as divided as its social strata—aristocrats, officials, artisans, Englishmen, Germans, merchants—each in isolated circles, seldom merging.[13]"

In this context, the relationship between the "kingdom" (Prussia) and the "empire" (All Russia), between Berlin and St. Petersburg as its outpost, can be likened to the relationship between the British monarch, who held a hereditary royal title as the sovereign of the "United Kingdom,"

Moreover, this legal "formula" - "Residence [came so - from vel. lit.] in St. Petersburg" is repeated repeatedly in the Manifesto

[13] Гоголь Н. В. Петербургские записки 1936 года / Н. В. Гоголь. Полн. собр. соч. в 6 т. - Т.6. - М.: Изд-во АН СССР, 1959. - С.111 - 112.

and the "East India Company,[14]" which established its outpost in Calcutta[15] and controlled dependent territories on the Hindustan peninsula, collectively referred to as the "Indian Empire.[16]" The British-Indian example is fully paradigmatic: the Protestant kingdom granted "empire" status to its colonial territories, "Germanizing" the native elites and employing its own colonial administrative network as "advisors" to further the interests of the metropolis.

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[14] It is "... the Company's servants must be prepared for their tasks as judges, administrators and diplomats of the great Indian Empire by a certain regular course of study" (Tritton A/ Scotland and the Indian Empire. Politics, Scholarship and the Military in Making British India. - London, N.-Y., Oxford, New Delphi, Sydney: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc. 2020. - P. 61.) "The only power now left to compete with the Company in of India, was the Confederate Empire of the Mahrattas, and here we need to give some history not only of the Mahrattas, but also of this Confederacy. The Mahratta Empire was a large Indian state that dominated much of the subcontinent in the mid-eighteenth century and, although originating in the western Deccan Plateau, now Maharashtra, eventually extended from what is now Tamil Nadu to what is now Peshawar in Pakistan in the west and Bengal in the east" (Ibid. - P. 67).

[15]"Calcutta in the early eighteenth century sat on the unstable periphery of two great early modern empires: the slowly crumbling land empire of the Mughals and the expanding maritime empire of the British... The Company's sphere of legal trade became a major source of contention with the provincial governors of Bengal (nawabs), as the latter became semi-autonomous regional rulers amid the decline of Mughal sovereignty. Meanwhile, the governor and council in Calcutta were also empowered to regulate trade and administer justice by a series of British royal charters that established the Company's monopoly on British import/export trade with Asia and allowed it to govern its overseas settlements in accordance with the English language. law. "Charters of Justice" issued in 1661, 1726 and 1753 authorized the Company to establish English law civil and criminal courts in its Indian settlements and established a line of appeal to the English Privy Council" (Travers R. Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India. - Cambridge University Press, 2007. - P. 33).

[16] "… in the Eastern world, an empire no less large or populous, embracing the same variety of people, and as rich in millions and provinces, was conquered by British arms in less than eighty years, at a distance of 8,000 miles from the mother country. This vast region, a legendary seat of luxury and grandeur since the dawn of civilization... was forever conquered and reduced to a mere province by a Company of British traders, who had first settled as unknown traffickers on the shores of the Hindustan 283 Indian Empire. is as large and diverse as Rome. In addition, it also brought the benefits of civilized governance, "shaping" India "into a mere province" (Hagerman C.A. Britain's Imperial Muse The Classics, Imperialism, and the Indian Empire, 1784–1914. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. - P. 57). "The defense of India has become a cornerstone of British global policy.

Another example of a Protestant (Lutheran) "kingdom-empire" was the geopolitical rival of Prussia in the 18th century—the "Swedish Empire," whose autocrat also bore the title of king.

In light of the examples mentioned, it can be stated that the 17th and 18th centuries typologically marked the era of Protestant "kingdoms-empires" (and sometimes "republic-empires"), which dismantled the centuries-old medieval hierarchical tradition of the Western Church. According to this tradition, the Pope recognized and ordained only one Christian "ruler of Rome" with the highest dignity of "emperor"—the autocrat of the Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nation (from the Habsburg dynasty).

This period gave rise to a situation where Protestant "kings" effectively ruled over "empires" of "non-believers," spiritually (religiously) colonizing them through appropriate "education" and exploiting their human and material resources. It was an era in which imperial dignity, ultimately devalued by the Protestant world, was reduced to the status of subordinate kings and rulers of kingdoms.

This is the situation with the ratio of the titles "king / queen" and "emperor / isperatrice" in XVIII c. influenced even the "stronghold" - the only Roman Empire officially recognized by the Pope (the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation): "... in 1756, when Maria Theresa tried repeatedly, but in vain, to recover her lost province from the Prussian king. Later, her husband was able to use his wife's dynastic credentials to obtain the coveted title of emperor. Although Maria Theresa rejected the empty designation of empress that her husband's new rank allowed her, she was widely referred to as the "Empress-Queen"... Maria Theresa, fascinated by the past and future glories of her motley dynasty, employed a number of strategies that created news that spread beyond the most privileged few. To perform, for example, one of the traditional components of the Hungarian coronation ritual, she acquired horse riding skills; to compensate for the handicaps her gender gave her, she held audiences in rooms of her palace that were considered male; and to appease both opponents and supporters of a final return to traditional norms of male authority, she waved her young son at key moments.[17]"

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India, after the loss of the North American colonies, gave it extraterritorial weight in the struggle for power in Vienna. Its national economy was roughly comparable to that of France and Russia, but with its Indian Empire it was two and a half times the size of France and twice the size of Russia" (Savaliero R. Strangers in the land. The Rise and Decline of the British Indian Empire. - London-New York, I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2002. - P. 101).

[17] Dawson R. P. Catherine the Great and the Culture of Celebrity in the Eighteenth Century, - London, N.-Y., Oxford, New Delhi, Sydney: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2021. - P. 4 - 5.

## § 1. The global pietist intellectual network and its expansion into the territory of the Moscow kingdom

The religious and ideological strategy behind the German colonization of Muscovy was developed at the initiative of pietist intellectuals[18] from the Prussian kingdom at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. This strategy was part of the broader project of global pietist utopian colonialism and focused on the spiritual (religious and ideological) reformation of Muscovy, conceptualized as a bridge on the way to China. The legal foundation for this "soft colonialism" rested on the 1702 adoption of the "law on religious tolerance," which allowed foreigners to create a "state within a state." This law not only permitted free movement and the choice of residence and occupation but also granted foreigners the right to be governed by their own legal bodies. This effectively placed them on a different level compared to the local Russian population.[19]

The primary developers of this colonial strategy, as well as key figures on the mental stage of Eurasia, were two individuals.

One was a universal genius—Gottfried Leibniz, the most influential intellectual and scientist of the Age of Enlightenment. "Starting in 1689, Leibniz turned his attention to China; in 1697, he also focused on Russia.

[18] There is some literature about the pietist global utopian colonial project XVIII pt. "When considering the period of pietistic utopian colonialism from the 18th to the 19th centuries. four cross-cutting categories emerge. There is a clear distinction between the colonies founded in Germany and the wider European context and the colonies founded in the "new worlds"... Pietist heterotopic settlements were prototypes intended to be replicated ad infinitum to create an empire of paradise and fulfill the Christian utopian dream" (Osayimwese I. Pietist space in Germany and the Gold Coast // Thresholds. - 2005 (Summer), microcosms. - No. 30. - P. 78). It seems that the creation of the German pietist colony St. Petersburg on the border of the Germanic world was one of the attempts to realize this global utopian project of a new Christian "empire of paradise".

[19] Look futnote 101: Chelbayeva T. “Russian books” from Halle in the discourse of the formation of a new type of Russian literary language // Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophie (Dr. Phil.) vorgelegt der Philosophischen Fakultät II Institut für Slavistik und Sprechwissenschaft der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, von Frau Tatjana Chelbaeva, Tag der Verteidigung: 29. Januar 2015. - P. 98.

He entered into a dialogue with Peter I and his advisers about the development of science in the Russian Empire.[20]"

As we can observe, Leibniz's interest in China preceded his interest in Muscovy, and this sequence is significant because it shows how his focus shifted over time: "Leibniz's interest in Russia preceded the Grand Embassy." A 1689 meeting with Grimaldi in Rome introduced Leibniz to scientific developments in China and made him aware of the potential role of Russia as an intermediary between Europe and China. In *Novissima Sinica* (Last News from China, 1697), Leibniz suggested that China and the West shared the same desire for perfection. This book, which consisted of essays by Leibniz, Grimaldi, and others, presented China as the most rational society on earth and proposed it as a model for European societies.[21]

"According to Leibniz, a providential foresight brought Peter the Great to power in Russia to fulfill the grand and pivotal mission of promoting the spread of light and knowledge to the East, all under the guise of reformed Protestantism.[22]"

Later, "at Torgau (1711), Leibniz finally received the audience he had persistently sought since Peter had first traveled through Europe. During this meeting, he had only enough time to submit a request for information about the genealogy of the tsars and the languages spoken in Russia. However, he was also deeply interested in what he considered to be Russia's destiny—specifically, the expulsion of the Turks from Europe and, following the introduction of European civilization, Russia's role as a bridge between Europe and China.[23]"

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[20] Vermeulen H.F. Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment. Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology. - Lincoln / London, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2015. - P. 39.

[21] Ibid. - P. 48.

[22] Collis R. The Petrine instauration: religion, esotericism and science at the court of Peter the Great, 1689–1725. - Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012. - P. 7.

[23] Grey I. Peter the Great. - New World City, 2015.

In fact, it was in Torgau, the residence of the Queen of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where the marriage of Tsarevich Oleksii Petrovych and the Lutheran princess Charlotte took place. Since the news of such a marriage caused animosity among the Orthodox in Muscovy, the wedding was arranged to take place abroad. It was during this time that Leibniz took advantage of the opportunity to meet with Peter.[24]

Thus, this Prussian-Russian dynastic strategy, developed by Leibniz, aimed at achieving his goals of "mastering" China: "At this early stage, Leibniz… relied on intriguing dynastic connections: he placed high hopes on Frederick I of Brandenburg, especially after his coronation as King of Prussia. His friendship with Tsar Peter I and the marriage between the heir to the Russian throne and Princess Charlotte of Braunschweig in 1711 inspired Leibniz to believe that Russia would now open its doors to China. For Leibniz, between 'Europe' and 'China' lay Russia, and its role hindered the development of an enlightened cultural mission."[25] Therefore, "Leibniz maintained close ties with the Welf and Brandenburg-Prussian dynasties. This was the end of the chain: Brandenburg-Prussia was

[24] It is indicative of how the interests of the pietist network founded by Leibniz of the Berlin Academy of Sciences and the geopolitical aspirations of the Kingdom of Prussia converged in this dynastic act. During a meeting of one of the sections of the Academy [November 19, 1711], reacting to the marriage of Tsarevich Alexei with Princess Charlotte Christina of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, "the Lutheran head pastor (Liebfrauenkirche) in Halle and author of spiritual songs, Johann Michael Heinekius, expressed the wish that "the Churches of God and the spread of the Gospel truth may benefit from this." Heynekius was aware of the important role that a court chaplain could play for the princess and wanted to apply for the position. He had already been offered the position, but turned it down due to a lack of clarity about the Academy's plans. The connection between the two high houses seemed like a good opportunity to capture Russia with a scientific society and at the same time a Protestant mission in the tsarist empire. The patronage of the ruler was obviously a priority for the members of the academy. The director of the meeting, Daniel Ernst Jablonsky, called not only religion, but also the book trade and book printing important areas of interest of the Berlin Academy in Russia" (Korzun S. Heinrich von Huyssen (1666–1739) Prinzenerzieher, Diplomat und Publizist in den Diensten Zar Peters I., des Großen. - Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, 2013. - S. 116).

[25] Teigeler O. The Moravian in Russia: Goal, scope and results of their activities (Works on the History of Pietism, 51). - Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 2006. - P. 79.

considered the gateway to Russia, and Russia, in turn, was the gateway to China.[26]"

Additionally, the religious thinker and leader of Prussian pietism, A. Franke, also "viewed Russia as a 'bridge to the East', extending to Central Asia, India, and China, where, in his opinion, unlimited opportunities for missionaries could be realized.[27]"

It is important to understand that the interest of the pietist leader from Halle in Muscovy, much like other colonial strategies, also had an economic component: "Franke's interest in Russia was also pragmatic; it involved the sale of various goods delivered to Russia, particularly to Moscow. It was also a source for the development of the Franke establishments in Halle...[28]"

A. Franke acted in "tandem" with G. Leibniz, supporting his Asian geopolitical project: "August Francke was so enamored with Leibniz's *Novissima Sinica* that the two men corresponded in the 1690s about the possibility of Halle sending missionaries east through Russia, establishing schools and churches along the way until they reached China. Franke and Leibniz had a polite exchange of views, despite their obvious religious

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[26] Teigeler O. The Moravian in Russia: Goal, scope and results of their activities (Works on the History of Pietism, 51). - Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 2006. - P. 83.

[27] Fundaminski M. The Communications Network Of Halle Pietists In Russia // Foreign Churches in St. Petersburg and Their Archives, 1703 - 1917 [Brill's Series in Church History and Religious Culture, Vol. 29] / Ed. by Pieter N. Holtrop. - Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2007. - P. 116.

[28] Chelbaeva T. "Russian books" from Halle in the discourse of the formation of a new type of Russian literary language // Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophie (Dr. Phil.) vorgelegt der Philosophischen Fakultät II Institut für Slavistik und Sprechwissenschaft der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, von Frau Tatjana Chelbaeva, Tag der Verteidigung: 29. Januar 2015. - S. 105. "Profits were very significant: in 1710 the profit amounted to 1000 reinthalers, in 1712 – 1237.21 Reinthalers. The trade in medicines and books turned out to be especially profitable. The books sold in Russia came not only from the Franke printing house, they were publications from all over Europe and supporters of Franke in Russia - teachers, preachers, doctors - engaged in their distribution, played the role of "book guides", they recommended only certain books selected at the request of A. G. Franke" (Ibid. - p. 106). So, the Pietist network actually controlled access to the Russian market of both translated literature and literature in foreign languages.

differences, mainly because both were very interested in the establishment of Protestant missions in China.[29]"

However, there were certain disagreements between A. Franke and G. Leibniz regarding the "Chinese mission": Franke agreed with Leibniz that the missionary idea was inextricably linked to the simultaneous advancement of true science and the improvement of the common good. While Franke was already satisfied with Russia and felt that establishing an oriental seminary in place of the general's seminary and attempting to gain influence over the Greek Orthodox Church were sufficient, Leibniz never lost sight of China as the ultimate goal.

Like Spener, Franke viewed Russia as an exemplary field for the reformation of the Christian world and was strongly supported in this by Leibniz. However, for Franke, the cultural mission was merely a means to the ecclesiastical mission, with economic side effects. For Leibniz, the cultural mission was the end in itself. Russia was important primarily as a transit country to China. Therefore, one of Franke's first emissaries to Russia, Justus Samuel Sharshmid, upon arriving in Moscow in 1701, immediately took the first opportunity to travel to Astrakhan, where the Lutheran community had been established, though it was soon destroyed.[30]

However, the underlying logic of their joint project was clear: the pietist evangelization of Muscovy was a necessary precondition—a strategic bridgehead—for the ultimate goal of evangelizing (pietist) China. The transformation of Muscovy into a pietist-compatible space was to lay the ideological and logistical groundwork for a broader Protestant mission stretching into Asia.

As one of the leading scholars on Prussian Pietism, Richard Gawthrop, observes: "Franke was very optimistic about the unlimited potential for revival within the Orthodox Church, which, as he believed, had been 'dying for a long time.' At first, Franke believed that it was possible to infiltrate this church by teaching Greek students in Halle, expecting that this small number of revivalists would bring about a transformation of the Orthodox Church from within."

A crucial figure in operationalizing this strategy was Hiob Ludolf, a linguist and diplomat. He facilitated early contacts between the Pietists and

[29] The Radical Enlightenment in Germany. A Cultural Perspective / Ed. by Carl Niekerk. - Leiden, Boston: Brill-Rodopi, 2018. - P. 125 - 126.

[30] Teigeler O. The Herrnhuters in Russia: Goal, scope and results of their activities (Works on the History of Pietism, 51). - Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 2006. - S. 82.

Muscovy's elites. As Gawthrop continues: "Ludolf provided the initial connection... Ludolf published the first Russian folk grammar. With his command of the language and diplomatic acumen, Ludolf turned an official English trade mission to Russia into a personal triumph in the early 1690s. During this visit, Ludolf created a network of contacts at the top of the Russian ruling elite, and he later managed to convince these people of the advantages of close cooperation with the pietists of Halle.[31]"

It was, in fact, Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf (1655–1711) who first proposed to August Francke the strategic approach for the “pietization” of Muscovy. In his reports from London to Halle in 1695–96, based on his journey to Muscovy, Ludolf outlined a program for the development of a Pietist mission within the Muscovite Empire. This program included the following key considerations:

a) there was no meaningful connection between Protestant clergy and the local Orthodox population in Muscovy. Such a connection, he argued, would remain impossible unless German pastors acquired proficiency in the Russian language;

b) it was essential to dispatch Pietist pastors to Muscovy who were capable of engaging with the local population. The existing clergy within German communities in Muscovy adhered to outdated ideas and perceived Pietism as heretical;

c) to address this, a special group of "communicators" was needed—educated individuals from the local population who would assist the pietists sent from Germany[32] and would know foreign languages.

Probably, Ludolf’s proposal to "strengthen the evangelical elements of Eastern Christianity[33]" was accepted by A. Franke, since already in 1696/97 his and his circle of correspondence begins with correspondents from Moscow, in particular, with representatives of the German colony ("freedom") in Moscow.[34]

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[31] Gawthrop R. Pietism and the making of eighteenth-century Prussia. - Cambridge University Press, 1993. - P. 186 - 187.

[32] Čyževśkyj D. The district A.H. Franckes in Halle and his Slavic studies // Journal for Slavic Philology. - 1939. - Volume XVI. - pp. 23-25.

[33] Chizhevsky D. Ukrainian prints in Halle / Ed. E.Yu. Pelensky - Krakow-Lviv: Ukrainian publishing house, 1943. - P. 9.

[34] Ibid. - P. 8.

As a result, A. Franke succeeded, according to Dm. Chizhevsky, in creating a kind of "Ministry of Foreign Affairs" by placing his "agents" in various important countries: "Franke had, so to speak, a whole 'Ministry of Foreign Affairs', with its own agents and representatives in different countries. It was partly the duty of individual members of the Gallic circle to maintain correspondence with them. But Franke had to at least occasionally write letters in his own hand or, to a lesser extent, dictate letters.[35]" Although Dm. Chizhevsky does not use the term "international intellectual network," this is essentially what he describes.

Over time, a circle of "communicators" gradually formed. It consisted of promising high-ranking Muscovites involved in the affairs of the German pietists. One of the main requirements for local candidates was knowledge of foreign languages.

What was the original list of these "indigenous communicators," and how might it have changed over time? Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf himself provided A. Franke with a list of several names, indicating the languages spoken by these potential members of the future Pietist network in Russia. This list included:

Peter Posnikof (1666–1703), translator of the Quran into Russian — spoke Latin and Italian;

Alexey Izmailov (?–1705), envoy to Sweden on matters of prisoner exchange — understood Latin;

Fedor Stepanovich Soltikov (?–1715), sent by Peter to the Netherlands in 1697 to study shipbuilding — understood German; he visited A. Franke in 1698 by order of Peter I and received a copy of Arndt's book from the Pietist leader;

Fedor Alexeyevich Golovin (1650–1706), organizer of the Treaty of Nerchinsk with China in 1689 and the first Chancellor of the Russian Empire — knew Latin, Mongolian, and English;

Ivan Lavrentievich Poborsky (Paborsky), a nobleman and former pupil of Simeon of Polotsk — participated in Peter I's Grand Embassy;

Sava Alexeyevich Lutochin — no additional data provided;

Boris Kurakin (1676–1727), a military associate of Peter I and the first official ambassador abroad;

Chrysanthemum, Patriarch of Jerusalem (Chrysanty Archimandrita

[35] Chizhevsky D. Ukrainian prints in Halle / Ed. E.Yu. Pelensky - Krakow-Lviv: Ukrainian publishing house, 1943. - P. 6.

Hyerosolimitans, 1655/1660–1731) — spoke Latin;
Adam Adamovich Weyde (1667–1720), a Lutheran.

Another, functionally different group among the members of the "network" was its "agents[36]" - pastoral staff from the territory of the German lands, who were supposed to organize relevant institutions in the territory of Muscovy - to engage in "evangelization" of the local Orthodox population in the spirit of pietist doctrine. Pastor Kaspar Mathias Rodde (C. M. Rodde) (1689 - 1743) from Narva belonged to such "agents[37]", who studied theology at the University of Halle in 1716-1719. and at the same time met directly with A. Franke. He took part in translations of pastoral pietistic literature into Russian.

Another influential "agent" of the Prussian Pietist network was Justus Samuel Scharschmid (1664-1724), whom Spener and Franke personally chose as their representative in Russia[38]. However, the main problem of "agents" of the network is at the turn of XVII - XVIII c. was their ignorance of the language of the "natives": "Yu. Scharschmidt evidently knew almost no Russian at the time, as he had not been able to take care of it in 1697. In 1703/1704, colleague Franke Breithaupt complained that the pietists sent to Moscow could not speak Russian.[39]

Therefore, the network had to address the issue of communication in Muscovy by creating dictionaries of the spoken Russian language to disseminate the pietist "version" of Christianity. "The radical ideas of the pietists from Halle called for the spread of 'true Christianity' in plain vernacular, not only among their compatriots. A. H. Francke's plans

[36] It was precisely as "agents" ("pietistische Agenten") that the missionaries from Halle, who were sent to Moscow, later to St. Petersburg, were defined by E. Winter (see: Winter E. Halle als Ausgangspunkt der deutschen Russlandkunde im 18. - Berlin: Jahrhundert, 1953. - S. 49).

[37] See: Benz E. The relationships of the August Hermann Francke Circle / Festschrift for Dmytro Čyževskij on his 60th birthday on March 23, 1954 (ed. M. Vasmer). - pp. 81 - 83.

[38] See: Collis R. The Petrine establishment: religion, esotericism and science at the court of Peter the Great, 1689–1725. - Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012. - P. 343. Sharshmid was in Kyiv in 1713. as the home tutor of General Adam Weyde (Adam Weyde). See also: Chyzhevsky D. Ukrainian prints in Halle / Ed. E.Yu. Pelensky - Krakow-Lviv: Ukrainian Publishing House, 1943. - C. 10.

[39] See: footnote. 10: Glück H., Polanska I. Johann Ernst Glück (1654-1705). Pastor, philologist, public enlightener in the Baltics and Russia. - Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005. - S. 128.

included the translation of the Bible and selected pietist literature into various national languages and its distribution in the form of printed publications. Francke's vision was oriented eastward: from the Bohemian Protestants to the Polish Catholics, and further to the Russian Orthodox.[40]"

But, in fact, this meant constructing a literary language across the lands of the "pietist empire" envisioned by Prussian theologians, which was to serve as the language of missionary activity throughout the multi-ethnic territories of Eurasia, with its eastern border reaching the frontiers of China. This task was carried out by the pietists from Halle. This fact clearly contradicts the popular myth that the founder and "codifier" of the Russian language in the form of "Russian Grammar" (1755) was the "local" Pomeranian "genius" M. Lomonosov. However, independent researchers of this subject concluded that a codified "Russian" literary language existed before Lomonosov, shaped by the "circle" of A. H. Francke: "Our reasoning regarding the existence of a special variant of the Russian literary language in the Dolomonosov period is based on the presence of... the three above-mentioned factors in the linguistic and social activities of the German reformers of the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries. A key role in the formation of the desired idiom was probably played by a group of pietists from Halle, who were inspired by Pastor A. H. Francke.[41]"

It is obvious that, in order to establish "pietism" in Muscovy, the pinnacle of this geopolitical strategy's implementation was for A. H. Francke, in his movement to the East, to become a follower of the pietism of the Moscow monarch. It appears that such an informal religious conversion of the Moscow autocrat was successfully accomplished at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. Upon returning from Europe as part of the "Great Embassy," the tsar expressed his wish that "the clergy... should... preach Christian virtue to the parishioners, just as he, Peter I, himself saw and heard the sermons of pastors in Germany (lit. 'as I preached and heard pastors studying in Germany').[42]"

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[40] Mengel S. An unknown variant of the Russian literary language of the pre-Lomonosov period / Bertolissi S., Salvatore R. (Hg.) / Forma Formans. Studi in onore di Boris Uspenskij. - Bd.II Napoli: D'Auria, 2010. - P. 44.

[41] Mengel S. An unknown variant of the Russian literary language of the pre-Lomonosov period / Bertolissi S., Salvatore R. (Hg.) / Forma Formans. Studi in onore diBoris Uspenskij. - Bd.II Napoli: D'Auria, 2010. - P. 44.

[42] Quote за: Lehmann - Carli G. Enlightenment reception, "prosvescenie" and "Europeanization": The specifics of the Enlightenment in Russia (II) // Journal of Slavic

As for the religious conversion of the ruler of Muscovy, the views of the overwhelming majority of researchers into the tsar's intellectual and political biography converge on this point. As James Cracraft notes in his book: "... there is considerable evidence... that Peter very early demonstrated a strong dislike for the complex ritual that appeared to be the piety of late Muscovite Rus... Tradition considered the tsar a kind of high priest. This dislike opened the way for his [Peter I] later conversion regarding the view of sin and salvation, and he sought to supplement or even replace traditional Russian religiosity with the 'practice of piety', the latter, as taught by the so-called pietists of Western Europe, in contrast to the emphasis on institutions, rites, and dogmas of the Reformed, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic churches of their countries. Pietism was an austere, moralistic, providential, scrupulously Biblical, individualistic type of Christianity that was at the same time mystical, rational, and socially responsible. It flourished during the time of Peter, especially in Northern Europe, which he traveled extensively in 1697–1698 and again in 1716–1717.[43]"

Other researchers support D. Cracraft in his assessment of Peter's religious views as a form of pietism: "Tsar Peter I favorably perceived Western pietistic literature. The influence of Halle pietism through the Russian relations of August Hermann Francke and his circle was especially strong. M. Raeff considers the Pietist influence on Peter's Rus and its cultural elites to be particularly formative: 'It is no accident that the close mediation with Halle's Pietist foundations... played a major role in the Westernization of Russian European culture. The concerns and characteristics of Pietism included personal experiential faith, introspection, a critical view of the established church, its doctrine and hierarchy, an intense community of believers among themselves, and a corresponding distance from the "world.[44]"

After the death of Peter I — in the 1730s — supreme power in Russia fell into the hands of the German elite. The Courland "foreign rule" included Tsarina Anna Ioannovna's all-powerful favorite, Ernst Johann

Studies. - 1994. - № 39 (3). - p. 362.

[43] Cracraft J. The Revolution of Peter the Great. - Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006. - P. 25.

[44] Lehmann - Carli G. Enlightenment reception, "prosvescenie" and "Europeanization": The specifics of the Enlightenment in Russia (II) // Journal for Slavic Studies. - 1994. - № 39 (3). - P.373.

von Biron (the so-called "Bironovshchyna," 1730–1740), along with Burchard Christoph Münnich, Heinrich Ostermann, the Baltic German Reinhold Gustav von Levenwolde, and, under Catherine I, figures such as Johann Jacob Sievers and Otto Heinrich Igelström. At that time, the "religious projection" of the supreme power's position in the newly established empire continued to be shaped by the struggle between two camps — international intellectual networks — within the framework of formally Orthodox religiosity: a conservative Catholic (papist) faction and a Reformation Lutheran (pietist) faction. "In Russia at this time [the 1730s, 18th century]... strong Lutheran foreigners simultaneously represented a movement, transformation, and improvement; those higher spiritual persons who sought to maintain their influence over affairs gathered around them. The opposing party consisted of lovers of antiquity — Dovhoruki, Golitsyn, Trubetskoy, Lopukhin, Repnin... in this party, all the old customs and patriarchal traditions flourished; the Catholics also gathered with them, seemingly uniting against the common danger posed by Lutheranism, which was gaining strength in Russia, though in fact they plotted to subjugate it to the Pope.[45]"

The Papist network suffered its final defeat during the reign of Emperor Alexander I. As Richard S. Wortman wrote in this regard: "Alexander's mission was to reform the Russian people and, as emperor, impose his version of Protestant pietism on them, based on his reading of the Bible. The agent of Alexander I's plans for spiritual revival was his friend Prince A. N. Golitsyn, chief prosecutor of the Holy Synod, whom he appointed head of the Russian Bible Society in 1814."[46] And further: "In 1816, Alexander indicated to Golitsyn that he wanted the Russians to have 'means for reading the word of God in their native language, which is more understandable for them than Church Slavonic, in which the Holy Scriptures are now published.' Work began on the translation of the Bible into Russian. In 1816, under Golitsyn's leadership, the Ministry of Education, the Synod, and the Office of Foreign Religions were united...

[45] Chistovich I. Reshilovskoe case. Feofan Prokopovich and Feofilakt Lopatinsky. Materials for the history of the first half of the eighteenth century. - St. Petersburg: in type. spirit. magazine "Wanderer", 1861. - P. 7.

[46] Wortman R. Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy from Peter the Great to the Abdication of Nicholas II. - Princeton University Press, 2006. - P. 115.

The Ministry will not tolerate fanaticism or religious intolerance. The Russian state began to promote the evangelical Protestant doctrine...[47]"

So, if the periodization of history takes into account the religious factor in the formation of the All-Russian Empire, then the initial ("pietist") period lasted 100 years — half of the empire's total existence — from 1716 (the arrival in St. Petersburg of the leading implementer of the Pietist project to create an "empire" and reform "Orthodox" Christianity in Muscovy along Lutheran lines, F. Prokopovich) until 1816 (when, by order of Emperor Alexander I, Pietist symbols of faith were to be disseminated throughout the "popular organism" via education and the corresponding religious instruction of the population).

During this first century of the German colony's formation in the East — with its center in St. Petersburg — the geopolitical tasks envisioned by G. Leibniz for the "empire" conceived by the pietists were actively pursued: "Between 1708 and 1716, Leibniz sent no fewer than nine memoirs to the king himself, in which he discussed both scientific topics and politics. Seeing Russia as a powerful ally against the Turkish threat in Southeast Europe and French dominance in Western Europe, Leibniz nurtured ideals of harmonious relations between the German and Russian states under the supervision of the emperors in Vienna and St. Petersburg. To this end, the Russians were to drive the Swedes out of the Holy Roman Empire, fight the Turks in Central Asia and Southern Europe, and help Germany gain a natural border along the Rhine against France.[48]"

Each of the above-mentioned points in the German mathematician's "geopolitical project" was implemented by the All-Russian Colony, often to its own detriment, yet persistently and systematically, throughout the "long" eighteenth century. "Harmonious relations" between Germany and Muscovy were evidently intended to be maintained "under the supervision of the emperor in Vienna," since, at the time when G. Leibniz was formulating the framework of Russian geopolitics, no other "emperor" formally existed in St. Petersburg.

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[47] Chistovich I. Reshilovskoe case. Feofan Prokopovich and Feofilakt Lopatinsky. Materials for the history of the first half of the eighteenth century. - St. Petersburg: in type. spirit. magazine "Wanderer", 1861.. - P. 116.

[48] Vermeulen H.F. Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment. Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology. - Lincoln/London, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2015. - P. 49.

In his letters to Peter I, Leibniz outlined the geopolitical tasks to be executed by the newly created All-Russian Empire.

Firstly, "with the aim of expelling the Swedes from the Holy Roman Empire," Muscovy was to initiate a series of wars with Sweden, beginning with the so-called "Northern War" (1700–1721).

Secondly, it was to engage in conflicts with the Ottoman Empire, directed "against the Turkish threat in Southeastern Europe."

Thirdly, it was to participate in the Napoleonic campaigns, joining numerous coalitions with "Germany" (the Kingdom of Prussia and the Austrian Empire), fulfilling the task of "helping Germany secure a natural border along the Rhine against France."

And while the clashes with neighboring Sweden and Turkey can, to some extent, be explained by the Muscovite Empire's "own" geopolitical interests, the reasons for its wars with distant France remain a mystery to historians — unless one acknowledges the simple fact that the "German colony" in the East was obliged to act in the West in the interests of the "German world."

It is important to emphasize that these "instructions" to the future Moscow "emperor" were sent by his "secret advisor" in matters of justice and, at the same time, German philosopher, before 1716 — prior to the arrival in St. Petersburg of the primary "local" representative of the Pietist network, Elisey Tsereysky, better known in historical literature under the pseudonym "Feofan Prokopovich." Perhaps the first thing he began to proclaim in his sermons was the glorification, within the German outpost of St. Petersburg, of the German metropolis itself, legitimizing through the word of God Germany's exceptional status among other nations and cultivating in the "natives" respect and submission toward the colonizers: "In his St. Petersburg sermon of 1717, he praised Germany as the 'queen of Europe... the mother of all countries.' 'Everyone who visits Germany discovers an orderly organization of state administration, benevolence of customs, pleasantness of spirit and communication.[49]" Germany was depicted as the 'mother of all countries,' quite literally a 'metropolis,' a state with an ideal political system and exemplary citizens." Such ideas were actively promoted among the masses by "the clergyman Peter," the person closest to the ruler. After such pronouncements, there can be little doubt as

[49] Quote by: Ivanov A. A Spiritual Revolution. The Impact of Reformation and Enlightenment in Orthodox Russia. - Madison, Wisconsin : The University of Wisconsin Press, 2020 |- P. 49.

to whom this Kyiv-born architect of the All-Russian "empire" actually served, and whose colonial interests this "state" was designed to advance.

The Pietist geopolitical strategy of opening a "window from Europe to Asia" by deconserving Muscovy broadly followed the successful Jesuit model, which H. Leibniz directly observed through his correspondence with the Jesuits. He maintained active communication with missionaries of the Society of Jesus in China, and to this day, approximately seventy letters from the German intellectual to members of the Jesuit mission in China are known. These include his correspondence with K. F. Grimaldi (1639–1712), A. Verjus (1632–1706), J. Bouvet (1656–1730), and C. Le Gobien (1653–1708).[50]

This model included:

1) creation of a hierarchical international system of educational institutions based on the Prussian (Greco-Roman) model: academy — university — orphanage (for the education and training of orphans).

Thus, in 1701, at the initiative of G. Leibniz, the Berlin Academy of Sciences was founded in the Prussian kingdom. Notably, at the same time, by order of Peter I, both the Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium and the Slavic-Greek-Latin Collegium in Moscow were granted the status of academies. Later, on the persistent advice of and in cooperation with G. Leibniz, Peter I would issue an order for the establishment of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, which would, in practice, operate as a branch of the Berlin Academy of Sciences — with complete dominance of the German element.

The mission of the Berlin Academy of Sciences was outlined in its founding charter of July 11, 1700: to promote the advancement of science and the spread of the evangelical faith for the public good and the "honor of God." Men, it stated, are to be enlightened through sound science and useful research, encouraged to recognize and admire the perfections and

[50] Correspondence of G. Leibniz collected and published in: Leibniz korrespondiert rnit China. Der Briefwechsel mit den Jesuiten missionaren (1689-1714). Herausgegeben von Rita Widmaier. 332 Seiten, 1 separate Karte,,C Asie" von G. Delisle. Franfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann 1990. 120, The figure of J. Bouvet (1656-1730) is particularly notable among these respondents. He belonged to the circle of the so-called French "skateurs". "They tried to convince Chinese scholars that the Chinese classics contained the seeds of Christian dogma. Priests argued that the classics reveal the premonition of Christ's Revelation in an allegorical and symbolic form. This theological view was based on the assumption that even Gentiles and Jews could possess the knowledge of "truth" through their native natural religion. » (Fuchs T, European China-Receptions from Leibniz to Kant // Journal of Chinese Philosophy. - 2006. - № 33. -P. 40).

works of God, and thereby to love and fear Him as the source of all good. The Berlin Scientific Society also devoted itself to the German language and history, with particular attention to "the true antiquity of the evangelical faith" and the legacy of the Reformation.[51]

As you can see, from its very inception, it was the reformist religious "metaprogram" that directed the activities of this Scientific Society of Berlin, subordinating science to religious aims.[52]

It is equally significant that the founding document of this leading Prussian academic institution also outlined a specific geopolitical orientation for its work, dedicating separate provisions to the envisioned roles of Muscovy and China in the Academy's future activities. The charter stated the necessity of strengthening ties with Russia, since Peter I, "by virtue of his great power and vast territories," could make a substantial contribution to the charitable mission pursued by the Society's creation. Accordingly, academy representatives were to be dispatched abroad with mandates from the Elector to cultivate appropriate scientific connections. Particular consideration was also given to establishing contact with China — for which, according to Leibniz, Prussia possessed a strategic advantage in the form of amber, a commodity especially prized in Asia.[53]

In view of the religious and geopolitical (economic) functions explicitly articulated in the program document of this academic society, a legitimate question arises: did "scientific" interests truly determine its activities?...

The second tier in the hierarchical educational model of the Kingdom of Prussia was the Pietist network, centered around the University of Halle. This institution emerged as the most prominent

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[51] Quote за: Korzun S. Heinrich von Huyssen (1666–1739) prince educator, diplomat and publicist in the service of Tsar Peter I the Great. - Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, 2013. - P. 115.

[52] According to the same model of subordination of science to religious ethics, it was planned to organize a branch of the Berlin Academy — the St. Petersburg Academy. F. Prokopovich "planned to place this sanctuary of natural sciences under the influence of the Holy Synod. In the spiritual regulation, he instructed the Synod to appoint teachers and develop a curriculum for the academy to be founded..." (Tetzner J. Theophan Prokopovie und die russische Frühaufklärung // Zeitschrift für Slawistik. Journal of Slavic Studies. - 1958. - Bd. III. - No. 2. - S. 360).

[53] Quote за: Korzun S. Heinrich von Huyssen (1666–1739) prince educator, diplomat and publicist in the service of Tsar Peter I the Great. - Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, 2013. - P. 115.

intellectual hub in the German lands: "Founded in the early 1690s, Halle was the only German university to surpass the 3,000 mark in total matriculations between 1721 and 1725, and during the same period, it was one of only two universities — the other being the University of Jena — whose average annual matriculations exceeded 1,000.[54]" "The University of Halle boasted the highest number of students in central Germany, rivaling Göttingen (founded in 1737). These two universities maintained leading positions until the establishment of the University of Berlin in 1810."[55]

It was evidently no coincidence that the German Pietist network entrusted a graduate of this university with the management of its academic "branch" — the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences — as well as the oversight and recruitment of suitable personnel: "The task of organizing the Academy and selecting its members was assigned to Lavrentiy Blumentrost, a German born in Russia and a doctor of medicine educated at the University of Halle. He served as the tsar's personal physician and became the first president of the St. Petersburg Academy.[56]"

More broadly, the Pietist educational model was administratively introduced by Frederick I in Prussia: "After an initial period of suspicion toward Franke, Frederick William I likewise became his ally, as reflected in their extensive correspondence. In fact, when in 1717 Frederick William I established the Prussian school system, it was modeled on the Halle example.[57]"

So, the University of Halle became a universal model for the overall modernization of university education in the German lands in the eighteenth century: "While in Catholic countries the social role of universities was diminishing, Protestant universities were modernizing (the word *aggiornamento* would be appropriate) their curricula to train not only

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[54] La Vopa A.J. Vocations, Careers, and Talent: Lutheran Pietism and Sponsored Mobility in Eighteenth-Century Germany // Comparative Studies in Society and History. - 1986 (Apr.). - Vol. 28 , - Iss. 2 - P. 259.

[55] Vermeulen H.F. Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment. Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology. - Lincoln/London, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2015. - P. 100.

[56] Thaden E.C. V.N.Tatishchev, German historians and St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences // Russian History / Histoire Russe. - 1986 (Winter). - № 4 (13). - P. 370.

[57] Stoeffler F.E. German pietism during the eighteen century. - Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1973. - P. 34.

pastors, but also lawyers, physicians, and scientists. By the end of the seventeenth century, many of the leading universities had thus become major instruments for the modernization of public life. The culmination of this development was the founding of the University of Halle, which deliberately prepared students for practical life by establishing a chair in chamber studies to engage directly in public affairs, instilling in them the ethical and spiritual values of Pietism and their responsibilities as future leaders and educators. The Pietist foundation at Halle stimulated the reform of other universities, notably Leipzig and Frankfurt an der Oder, and laid the groundwork for the subsequent founding of Göttingen. These universities would become important centers for the natural law doctrines advanced by Christian Thomasius, Christian Wolff, and the later German *Aufklärung*.[58]"

In addition, the University of Halle also served as the foundation for the creation of another, non-university, category of institutions in Prussia: "Frederick William I worked to disseminate the Halle system throughout his kingdom, actively enlisting pietists to assist him in this effort. The Halle schools provided both institutional models and, in many cases, teachers for the cadet academy in Berlin, military academies, the children's asylum in Potsdam, work schools in numerous other cities, garrison schools, and schools established with public funds on the lands of the royal estates.[59]"

From Prussia, this model was to be extended to the territory of its St. Petersburg colony — through Pietist "agents" occupying high-ranking positions in the state and church. In fact, "Prokopovich, for his part... envisioned broad educational reforms based primarily on the pietistic model of August Hermann Franke,[60]" including the establishment of an "orphanage" in St. Petersburg,[61] where the educational process was

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[58] Raeff M. The Well-Ordered Police State and the Development of Modernity in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe: An Attempt at a Comparative Approach // The American Historical Review. - 1975 (Dec.) - Vol. 80. - № 5. - P. 1232.

[59] Gawthrop R., Strauss G. Protestantism and Literacy in Early Modern Germany // Past & Present. - 1984 (Aug.). - №. 104. - P. 48

[60] Collis R. The Petrine instauration: religion, esotericism and science at the court of Peter the Great, 1689–1725. - Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012. - P. 40.

[61] "...In 1721, he succeeded in establishing a school for orphans and poor children in his wooden house on Aptekarsky Island, on the bank of the Karpivka River. According to Chistovich, it was 'the best school of its time' in Russia. Over the course of its fifteen

overseen by German instructors — Adam Burchardt Sellius (ca. 1694–1745), Theodor Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738), and Georg Friedrich Fedorovych[62]. F. Prokopovich deliberately selected intellectuals for his institution who were fully immersed in the theological and pedagogical doctrines of Halle.

As an "agent" of the Prussian intellectual and educational network, Elisey Tsereysky was also tasked with carefully identifying talented students within the territories controlled by Peter I to send them for training at the "Prussian educational center." In a 1719 letter, he personally informed A. Franke that he was sending three students to study in Halle. Prokopovich described the first, Vasiliy, as "quite talented," noting his preliminary training in rhetoric. The second student, Johann the Younger (Ivan Menshoi), was described as possessing outstanding mental abilities, with the hope that he would master Greek, Latin, and eventually German. As for the third, Johann the Elder (Ivan the Great), Prokopovich admitted he was unsure of his abilities, suggesting that "if his brain seems made of inferior material, at least he might be taught organ music." Prokopovich actively dispatched theological students to Halle to receive an education shaped by pietistic ideals.[63]

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years of existence, the school educated 160 pupils, whose curriculum included theology, Slavonic studies, Russian, Latin, and Greek languages, grammar, rhetoric, logic, Roman antiquity, arithmetic, geometry, geography, history, and drawing. The pietistic spirit of Prokopovych's school is perhaps most evident in a series of instructions he wrote to regulate the students' conduct." (Ibid., p. 352)

[62] It is telling that nothing is known today about the last of the three German teachers except that he was a Prussian subject. As for the other two figures among the teachers at Prokopovych's orphanage, they were directly connected with Prussian Pietism. Thus, Bayer, the son of a Lutheran pastor, graduated from the Friedrich Collegium in his native city of Königsberg, which had been organized according to Pietist principles. Later, from 1726 to 1737, he would serve as Professor of Greek and Roman Antiquity at the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Sellius maintained active correspondence with A. Francke's son, G. Francke, who became the leader of the Prussian Pietists after his father's death. In a letter from Sellius to the latter in 1737, they discuss the translation of Arndt's book True Christianity into Russian. (Ibid., p. 353)

[63] Ibid. - P. 347-348. As for the strength of the ties between Franke and Prokopovich, it is significant that in 1721 the leader of the German pietists personally sent a 3-volume Bible in Hebrew and Arndt's book "True Christianity" with the dedication "Reverendissimo Domino Dr. Theophani episcopo Plescoviensi" and praying to God that Christianity will take root both in Russia and throughout the world

Among the landmark works, which consider the creation of a pietist network on the territory of the Prussian kingdom from the perspectives of the "network approach", we can single out the article by B. Marschke "Lutheran Jesuits: communication networks of Halle pietists at the court of Frederick William I of Prussia[64]" Among the landmark works examining the creation of the Pietist network within the territory of the Prussian Kingdom from the perspective of the *network approach*, one can single out B. Marschke's article *"Lutheran Jesuits: Communication Networks of Halle Pietists at the Court of Frederick William I of Prussia.*[65]"

In the 2000s, the first attempts emerged to study the broader spread of Pietism from Halle into the territory of Muscovy and the All-Russian Empire, specifically from the perspective of network theory[66] or through the personal activities of individual agents of the global Pietist network in Russia.[67]

The ultimate goal of these educational institutions was conversion, as Richard Gawthrop puts it: "Institutions like the Halle Anstalten were meant to fulfill God's purpose in this respect by preparing people of all moral and social backgrounds for conversion and enabling them to help convert others.[68]"

Summarizing, we can say that at the beginning of XVIII c. the institutional, political, military and ideological structure of the Kingdom of

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[64] Pietism and Community in Europe and North America, 1650–1850 // Ed. by Jonathan Strom. - Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010. - P. 95.

[65] Marschke B. Lutheran Jesuits: Halle Pietist communication networks at the court of Frederick William I of Prussia // The Covenant Quarterly.- 2006 (Nov.) - Vol. 64. - Iss. 4.

[66] See: Fundaminski M. *The Communications Network of Halle Pietists in Russia* // *Foreign Churches in St. Petersburg and Their Archives, 1703–1917* [Brill's Series in Church History and Religious Culture, Vol. 29] / Ed. by Pieter N. Holtrop. – Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2007. – Pp. 115–127. In this work, M. Fundaminski draws on the classic studies of the German scholar Eduard Winter to show in concrete detail the ways in which the Halle community communicated with Russia and how they sought to disseminate their works.

[67] Zaunstöck G.H. Friedrich Weise — An Invisible Agent of Pietism in Russia: His Travels and Handwritten Notes in the Global Network of Pietists, 1730-43 // Kunstkamera, St. Petersburg. - 2019. - Issue 3 (5). - P. 19-38.

[68] Lindmark D. Pietism and Colonialism. Swedish Schooling in Eighteenth-century Sápmi // Acta Borealia: A Nordic Journal of Circumpolar Societies. - 2006. - № 23 (2). - P. 120.

Prussia was built by representatives of Pietism. so it can be said (on this point the opinions of most researchers coincide) that the model of the ideal state, which was realized during the transformation of the Duchy of Brandenburg into the Kingdom of Prussia, was completely formed by the intellectuals of the University of Halle. Moreover, if Leibniz was the first member of the founded Berlin Academy of Sciences, then A. Franke is the rector of the university in Halle is her second Academician.

"There is no doubt that during the eighteenth century the flow from Germany to Russia was very strong, either directly or through the Baltic provinces. Leibniz recommended some German scientists to Peter; the ideas of Christian Wolff and the pietism associated with Halle fit well into the Petrine concept of service to the state, and this was supported by contacts between German scholars in the Academy of Sciences (and at this time they were practically all Germans)... St. Petersburg also had a very large permanent German colony, so large that the capital's city court had a special German chamber after 1775, which tried about 20,000 cases per year. German did not need to be translated, it had a fairly large readership, and German books were easier to obtain than French because Riga was the center of German-language book publishing. In 18th century Russia, teachers, cooks and hairdressers were French, scientists were Germans.[69]"

The only clarification regarding the expressed remark can be as follows: the influence of pietism of the network of m. Halle was realized through influential figures of this network - Ukrainians by origin, who graduated from this university and maintained constant relations with it.

It was during the reign of the "pietist" Peter I that the educational network of pietists - its numerous schools - spread throughout Muscovy. Researchers count at least 5 such churches: "Pietism was the first international missionary movement of Protestants. Trying to accept the duty of evangelizing the Gentiles as the main duty of the church regardless of state support ... under Peter the Great, the pietists found Russia a fertile field for evangelization. They created small and short-term schools in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Narva, Astrakhan, and Tobolsk. - V.] - all of them teach at least one Eastern language for the purpose of future evangelization.[70]"

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[69] Madariaga Isabel de. Politics and Culture in Eighteenth-Century Russia. - London and N.-Y.: Routledge, 1998. - P. 273.

[70] Billington J.H. The Icon and the Axe An Interpretative History of Russian Culture (Vintage). - N.-Y.: Vintage Books, 1970. - P. 277.

So, the spiritual strategy of G. Leibniz-A. Franke was to

a) to create a global Pietist spiritual and educational network with the center in Halle: "Halle became a center of missionary and cultural-diplomatic activity with connections to Russia and Siberia, the Baltic countries, South-Eastern Europe and the Middle East, as well as the Netherlands, England and North America"[71].

So, this global network reached the American continent. Moreover, as in the territory of "orthodox" Muscovy, it was successful in spreading its own structures to other Christian (evangelical) denominations, in particular, to the Methodists: "G. AND. Franke, and before him his father, Augustus Hermann Franke, led the global Pietist missionary movement that inspired Whitefield and other English evangelicals. Although Whitefield and the Pietists came from different Protestant traditions, they shared a commitment to doing God's work through mission and charity. All of them were, as G. wrote. Franke, "workers in the vineyard of Christ""[72].

This global pietist network extended not only to America, but also to India and other lands: “As the mission in India, as well as the Jewish, Muslim, American and Russian missions of the Franke Foundation showed, the significance of the missions in Halle was not that they organized missionary work according to a set plan - which indeed they rarely did. Rather, they were extremely important because they offered a platform from which to launch the second stage of the mass movement that was Pietism, after it had evolved into an educational apparatus within the Franke Foundation. Halle, as an organizational center, coordinated the involvement of active, socially powerful Protestants who held positions in this[73].

b) subordinate to Prussian educational institutions similar in the territory of Muscovy - due to the influence of their leaders. Thus, "Peter appointed Leibniz as a counselor of justice in the Russian service with the special function of consulting on educational, legal and state issues and promised him an annual salary. In a letter to the Elector Sophia, Leibniz

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[71] The Pietist Theologians. An Introduction to Theology in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries / Ed. by Carter Lindberg. Blackwell Publishing, 2005. - P. 102.

[72] Koch P. Slavery, Mission, and the Perils of Providence in Eighteenth-Century Christianity: The Writings of Whitefield and the Halle Pietists // Church History. - 2015. - № 84 (2), June. - P. 370.

[73] A Companion to German Pietism, 1660–1800 (Brill’s companions to the Christian tradition, vol. 55) /Ed/ by Dougla H. Shantz. - Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015. - P. 377.

wrote that she "finds it strange that I shall be, in a certain sense, the Solon of Russia, albeit at a distance[74]";

c) move university graduates to central positions in the leading institution of Orthodox education — the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Halle - bearers of the ethos and dogmatics of Pietism. In addition, in order to control the multi-ethnic territories of Muscovy, it was necessary to reform — to create a common language (koine) — a task that began to be carried out in the 17th c. Jesuits represented by Yu. Kryzhanich [75];

2) the Jesuit model, borrowed by the Prussian pietists, provided for the seizure by representatives of the Society of Jesus of the institution of confession within the ruling houses of Europe. Thus, the Order gained direct access to latent information in international politics and was able to influence the internal politics of monarchs — and not only European ones. It is obvious that a similar strategy was used by the Prussian pietists, who were involved in the XVIII c. extensive network of university graduates Halle as confessors under monarchs. Thus, the eldest son of Peter I - Oleksiy Petrovich - was taken care of by the Greek priest Liverios (Liverios): "Father Liverios lived in Halle. He became the confessor (cleric) of Alexius in Germany in 1711 and then during his journey to Carlsbad in 1714, after which he stayed in Berlin. Then he received permission from Oleksandr Golovkin, the Russian ambassador to Prussia, to leave...[76]"

Such a "cleric" under Peter I was "Archbishop Feofan Prokopovich, an educated reformer of the Orthodox state church and a devoted patron of the Halle pietists"[77]. Iconic historian of the Orthodox Church G. Florovsky categorically stated that F. Prokopovich "was not just under the influence of Protestantism, he was simply a Protestant"[78].

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[74] Grey I. Peter the Great. - New World City, 2015.

[75] See: Zapolskaya N. N. “Common Slavic” literary language: models of Y. Krizhanich (XVII century) and M. Mayar (XIX century). // Slavic studies. - M., 1996, - No. 1. - P. 83 - 94.

[76] Bushkovitch P. Peter the Great. The Struggle for Power, 1671-1725/ - Cambridge Un. Press, . - P. 395.

[77] Dietrich Geyer. Peter and St. Petersburg // Yearbooks for the History of Eastern Europe, New Series, Vol. 10, No. 2 (JULY 1962). - P. 194.

[78] “Western influences in Russian theology,” Kyrios, H, 1937, 11

On the other hand, one of the leading researchers of religiosity and esotericism in the territory of the All-Russian Empire — R. Colliz - specified "that the so-called "enlightenment" worldview of Prokopovich was actually based on three theological and philosophical pillars: 1) pietistic Protestantism; 2) the Orthodox faith based on the texts of the Fathers of the Eastern Church and 3) an esoteric worldview." So, in the first place in the structure of the "worldview" of Eliseus of Cereus, "pietistic Protestantism" was determined.[79] And this "pietist Protestantism" was a component of a unique Ukrainian mental "synthesis": "...I will argue that the adoption of modern, rational science did not fundamentally fuel the impetus for the reforms carried out by Prokopovich. Instead, one can see a unique Russian (or rather Ukrainian) early modern manifestation of eclecticism, which combined reformed Protestant chliasm and biblical exegesis, the expressive mysticism of the early Eastern Fathers of the Church and a constant belief in occult correspondences.[80]

In our opinion, this Ukrainian eclecticism was legitimized within the framework of the same pietistic model of philosophizing: the "rational" basis for the worldview of F. Prokopovich, and G. The pans were a view of eclecticism as a universal method by the pietist Buddei.[81]

[79] Collis R. The Petrine instauration: religion, esotericism and science at the court of Peter the Great, 1689–1725. - Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012. - P. 272.

[80] Ibid. - P. 272.

[81] "January 28, 1720 Müller (the owner of an iron ore enterprise near Moscow and an "agent" of the Pietist network) wrote a letter to Buddeus in which he informed about Prokopovich's appreciation of his works and about the desire of the Russian archbishop to translate them into Russian for the tsar. To this letter was added Prokopovich's reply to the theological faculty of the Paris Sorbonne, which proposed the unification of the Western and Eastern Christian churches to the Russian Tsar when he visited Paris in 1717. This marked the beginning of a long correspondence between Prokopovich and Buddeus, which ended only with the death of the latter in 1729." (Ibid. - P. 346).

## § 2 Legitimization of the Russian imperial title F. Prokopovich: the Lutheran context of the "Father of the Fatherland"

During the celebration of the end of the Northern War, Tsar Peter "received" from the hands of Chancellor G. AND. Golovkin's title, which traditionally belonged to Roman autocrats - "Imperator" (emperor) and "Pater Patriae" (father of the fatherland). The adoption of "Latin" regalia by the Eastern tsar, which, it seems, was supposed to fit the Moscow ruler into the political system of European hierarchical relations and declaratively certify the claims to change the status of the state headed by him, had not only foreign policy consequences. Such a "ceremonial event" provoked more significant internal changes, as it finally destroyed the centuries-old space of "sacred communication" in Muscovy between the central government, the Orthodox (Orthodox) Church and the population - it required a corresponding "translation" of new "reformist" strategies for the sacralization of the supreme power of the "Western" type. And although separate detailed investigations were devoted to the issue of the Moscow monarch's adaptation of the western imperial insignia and titulary, it is said, among others, about the work of O. G. Ageeva "The title "emperor" and the concept of "empire" in Russia in the first quarter of the 18th century."[82] and Isabel de Madaryaga's text "Tsar to emperors: the title of Peter the Great"[83], but several important points were left out of their attention. Among them are the reception of these Western regalia by the "deep Moscow people" and ways of their simultaneous legitimation by the new "Orthodox" elite led by F. Prokopovich.

One of the elements of the argument followed by Peter I and his close entourage was that the application of the title "Imperator" to the rulers of Muscovy was derived from an ancient tradition: "Foreign ambassadors in St. Petersburg, for example, were informed that the title "Emperor of All Russia" was previously held by Peter's ancestors and that such a conversion of "Tsar" to "Emperor" is not an innovation.

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[82] Ageeva O. G. The title “emperor” and the concept of “empire” in Russia in the first quarter of the 18th century // World of History: Russian electronic journal. - 1999. - No. 5.

[83] See subsection 1.1 with the corresponding title in: Politics and culture in eighteenth-century Russia / Collected essays by Isabel de Madariaga. - London and New-York: Routledge, 2014. - P. 15 - 39.

The same argument was voiced in Feofan Prokopovich's sermon "A word of praise... to the memory of Peter the Great", where it was noted that even before the adoption in 1721 the title of "great emperor" this title "used to be and was complained about by everyone.[84]"

Let us note here that F. Prokopovich emphasized the constant tradition and dynastic inheritance exclusively in relation to the imperial title and, knowingly or not, bypassed another element of the full titulary, which was inextricably linked with the "emperor" - the "Father of the Fatherland".

However, long before Pyotr Oleksiiovych accepted the regalia of imperial dignity, the lands that were subject to the Moscow autocrat were interpreted by the circle of Prussian pietists not as a "kingdom" but as an "empire".

Yes, Leibniz in a letter dated January 3, 1708. to Baron Urbich, Peter's envoy to the imperial court in Vienna, expressed his conviction that "the Tsar had an almost divine vocation: "However, what would make me strongly desire this peace is that I would like the Tsar ("le Czar") to advance and perfect his magnificent and heroic plan of cultivating his lush empire (lit. "cultiver son faste Empire...") and introducing into it the sciences, arts and good morals.[85]"

Therefore, in official international documents and correspondence, prominent intellectuals and influential rulers of Europe often translated "king" and "kingdom" in the appropriate "imperial" way. Hence, Pyotr Oleksiyovich's acceptance of the imperial regalia could look like bringing the title of the Moscow autocrat into line with the international language - Latin. Such a move by the representative of the Romanov family also agreed with the main (European) vector of Moscow geopolitics at the beginning of XVIII ct.

Therefore, this gesture of the Eastern king could be considered as a simple "internal" following of the "external" Western tradition in international relations - a symbolic self-inclusion of Muscovy in the context of European states. And, from such perspectives, the simple

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[84] Ageeva O G. The title “emperor” and the concept of “empire” in Russia in the first quarter of the 18th century // World of History: Russian electronic journal. - 1999. - No. 5.

[85] Lehmann - Carli G. Reception of the Enlightenment, "prosvescenie" and "Europeanization": The specifics of the Enlightenment in Russia (II) // Journal of Slavic Studies. - 1994. - № 39 (3). - P. 371.

perception of the Moscow enlightener-reformer of the "Latin" imperial regalia was presented and looked like a "reaction", "reaction", "internal reception", and not as an "innovation".

By whom such a replacement" of the "Orthodox king" by the "emperor" was really perceived as a "substitution" - a kind of damage, falsification and devaluation of the sacred supreme authority - by the "silent unlettered majority" of Muscovy. The appropriation of a new Latinized title by the Moscow tsar served as one of the main signs of Peter I's identification with absolute evil. Actually, all the symbolism of the power of the reformer ruler fit into the collective eschatological expectations in the mass consciousness of the Muscovites of that time. And in this consciousness of the Old Believers, the "emperor" was considered as one of the images of the "antichrist".

"Apocalyptic chronologists predicted the end of the world in 1702. Tsar Peter I returned from his first trip to Europe just a few days before the "scheduled" arrival of the Antichrist, who will be announced as the Expected...[86]"

But "back in 1700, the copyist Hryhoriy Talytskyi, later quartered... exposed the behavior of Peter and his entourage and calculated that "the last time has come and the Antichrist was born, and according to his calculation, the Antichrist is the eighth king", Peter Oleksiyovych. Dissidents later found the number of the Beast (666) in Peter's titles (calculated from the numerical values of the letters in the word EMPEROR without the M) and in other ... words such as senators (senatri) and Holstein."[87]

The views of Hryhoriy Talytsky, in this context of the popular reception of "Peter as the Antichrist" can be considered quite representative, since, as noted by the sources of that time, his teachings were known in all corners of Muscovy.[88]

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[86] Lehmann - Carli G. Enlightenment reception, “prosvescenie” and “Europeanization”: The specifics of the Enlightenment in Russia (II) // Journal of Slavic Studies. - 1994. - № 39 (3). - p. 362.

[87] Hughes L. Peter the Great: A biography. - Yale University Press, 2002.

[88] "Talitsky was known to the people in all corners of Russia. This can be seen from the investigative cases of this era. " (Esypov G. V. Raskolnychy dela XVIII stoletiya. Izvlekennye iz del Preobrazhenskogo prikaza i Tainoi rysysknykh del Kancelariai. T. I. St. Petersburg: Izd. D. E. Kozhanchikova, 1861. - P. 4 - 5).

"As for the common people of Russia, the change of the tsar to the emperor was perceived with difficulty. Because the peasants, and especially the Old Believers, believed that the title "emperor" was assigned by the Pope and, therefore, has a satanic origin, and the symbol of the double-headed eagle is a sign of the devil, because only the devil has two heads. At most, the "emperor" in Old Russian numbers was equal to 666, - the number of the great beast of the Apocalypse."[89]

So, these foreign terms, which were associated with the institutional reforms of Peter I, copying the state-political structures of the Western empire - from the title of "emperor" to "senators" and foreign (German - Holstein) dynastic line - belonged, in the space of the "folk religion" of the Muscovites, to one of the hypostases of the antichrist[90].

To this sinister image of Peter, well written in the popular imagination, were added: "Minerva, who [was also identified] with the icon of the Antichrist, and the poll tax of 70 kopecks - with a seven-headed snake; Peter sometimes assumed the form of an animal, his German boots were identified with the "cow legs" of the Antichrist. All these assumptions were quite consistent with popular ideas about the devil and demons, who were believed to be able to change their form at will and appear in different masks.[91]

Feofan Prokopovich, as a leading theologian-reformer, had to oppose this popular eschatological model, which used the imperial title of Peter I as another proof of his infernal essence. For this purpose, he developed his "own" "elitist" eschatology. And this "own" eschatology expectedly duplicated the traditional Lutheran strategy, in which the place of the "antichrist" was reliably reserved for the Pope: "Unlike St. Yavorskyi, Feofan rejected the notion that the Antichrist was a Jew from the tribe of Dan. He even rejected the idea that the appearance of the Antichrist would correspond to future events. Instead, he mixed his acquired distaste for the papacy with a fondness for Luther's early

[89] Madariaga Isabel de. Politics and Culture in Eighteenth-Century Russia. - London and N.-Y.: Routledge, 1998. - P. 38.

[90] Madariaga Isabel de. Politics and Culture in Eighteenth-Century Russia. - London and N.-Y.: Routledge, 1998. - P. 38. In general, the idea of Muscovites regarding the infernal essence of the reformer ruler was studied in detail in: Perry M. Russian folk eschatology and the legend of Peter I - the Antichrist // Bulletin of St. Petersburg State University. History - 2016. - Issue 4 - S. 77 - 86.

[91] Madariaga Isabel de. Politics and Culture in Eighteenth-Century Russia. - London and N.-Y.: Routledge, 1998. - P. 38.

understanding of eschatology to argue that the Pope was indeed the Antichrist, or, as he called him, "the Great Antichrist who ... appeared to the world long ago."[92]

The logic of Feofan - a former graduate of the Protestant University of Halle and Catholic Collegium of Rome - was simple, familiar and unambiguous: the antichrist appeared a long time ago - this is the institution of the papacy in general and the Pontiff of Rome personally. And since there cannot be two antichrists, according to the law of the "exclusive third", then, obviously, the "emperor" Peter could not in any way be recognized as the embodiment of evil[93]. The so-proclaimed F. By Prokopovich, the "emperor" was acquitted by him, and the Pope, together with the Moscow Old Believers, was once again humiliated.

Thus, Feofan, defending his own, rather dubious political project at that time - the position of a completely "amusing" "emperor" of Muscovy, whose status and regalia were not recognized by the absolute majority of European monarchs, attacked the completely legitimate and still highly influential religious institution of the papacy - the existential enemy of Protestant monarchies.

It may turn out (we are inclined to this point of view) that all this "game at the emperor" of Peter I was developed in the circle of reformed radical Lutherans Prussia[94] and implemented through its "agent of influence" not only for the purpose of reminding once again, from a formally foreign "orthodox" voice, who in the eyes of the Protestants of Europe still remains the "great antichrist". The unexpected appearance of the "new emperor" was supposed to open a new frontier between Europe and Asia[95] the "new front" of the archetypal for European history confrontation along the "Pope" / "Emperor" axis. Perhaps it was this

[92] Ivanov A. V. A Spiritual Revolution: The Impact of Reformation and Enlightenment in Orthodox Russia, 1700–1825. - Madison, Wisconsin : The University of Wisconsin Press, 2020. - P. 52.

[93] The views of the Protestant F. Prokopovich differed radically from the eschatological concept of his opponent - the Latin (Jesuit) S. Yavorskyi. In 1703, the governor of the patriarchal throne published a book "Signs of the coming of the Antichrist and the end of the age."

[94] It is significant that researchers of life activities of F. Prokopovich already in the 19th century. determined the existence of 2 foreign parties ("networks") - Lutheran and Catholic (Jesuit), which influenced the highest power constellation in the newly formed empire. About the fact that after the death of Peter I, there was a fierce struggle between them, wrote, for example, I. Chistovych

attempt, initiated by the Prussian Lutherans, to involve the Pontiff of Rome in the fight against fake reincarnation[96] the "emperor" of the "Protestant" "West" (who ruled in the country of Eastern Orthodoxy) should have diverted attention from the real symbolic war, which the Roman Throne launched in the 10s - 30s of the XVIII century. with the real "emperor" of the East, who represented for this radical wing of pietists-reformers the ideal eternal empire, the empire of empires - China. We must always keep in mind that Muscovy was only a means in the geopolitical plans of the Pietists. The goal remained the Kangxi Empire.

The absolute majority of researchers who analyze the international status of Peter I pay almost exclusive attention to the title "emperor", while forgetting that it was only one - and that, not the first and, accordingly, not the main element of naming the Moscow ruler.

The full formula of the new title of the Moscow autocrat, as is known, also contained "Father of the Fatherland". From a formal point of

[95] The Protestant intellectual network at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. did everything possible to move the borders of Europe on the mental maps of Europeans - to expand its borders to the east as far as China. As for Muscovy, this meant not only an attempt to appropriate "Western" titulary (proclaiming the "tsar" an "emperor"), but also the implementation of a symbolic spatial expansion - the inclusion of the territory of Asia mastered and controlled by the Moscow center into Europe. Efforts were aimed at declaring Yeniseysk the symbolic eastern border of Europe (Daniel Defoe in 1717 in his II volume of The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe). And then Nerchinsk (place of the border treaty between Muscovy and China), which was administratively subordinated to Yeniseisk, could really look like the most extreme point of the newly redefined Europe. Daniel Defoe wrote about these attempts in 1717 in chapter 2 of the adventures of Robinson Crusoe. Although the signatories and constructors of this treaty - the Portuguese Jesuit Pereira - considered the Muscovite kingdom and the Chinese kingdom as two Asian monarchies. The same expansionist strategy of "stretching Europe to the East" was implemented by Tatishchev and the captured Swede. The next step in this transformation of Muscovy from "Asia to Europe" was the strategy of renaming barbarian names to noble ones that belonged to the European "Roman-Hellenistic" heritage. This strategy was widely deployed when the Germanic (Holstein-Gottorp) dynasty completely mastered Muscovy - during the reign of Sophia Augusta Fredrika Anhalt of Zerbst (Catherine II). Moving the center to Europe - S. Petersburg. The so-called northern vector — which was maintained in the 16th and 17th centuries. on Gothic issues turned into the ideology of Cantemir (Northern Empire). Consequently, decentralization took place - its colonial center was drawn to its intellectual center - the Germanic lands to the Northwest (S.Pb.), and the "quasi-European borders" stretched to the East.

[96] In addition, fake regalia had to be prepared - a newly minted imperial crown (like the previous "Monomach's cap"), which was supposed to be under glass and pass off as an ancient imperial crown. (Ageeva).

view, everything looked clear and logical: it was a direct translation from the Latin "Pater Patriae", which was almost always associated with the title "Imperator" in relation to the historical rulers of Rome. So, appropriating the title of "emperor" to the Moscow autocrat, the developers of the ceremony simply left the complete formula - the entire "package" unchanged. However, it needs to be clarified why "Pater Patriae" in Peter's regalia was translated as "Father of the Fatherland", and "Imperator" - not.

Unlike the status of "emperor", which could be presented as a traditional title of Muscovite rulers and legitimized as a simulacrum of "tsar", the figure of "Father of the Fatherland" really represented an absolute titular innovation, which was devoid of any local (Muscovite) tradition, since none of Peter I's predecessors on the tsarist and grand ducal thrones resorted to such a construction.

As noted in his research, L. Hughes (Hughes L.): "For the first time, the Roman epithet Pater Patriae (father of the fatherland) was used by F. Prokopovich in 1709 in a eulogy about Poltava during his meeting with Peter"[97].

It remains to be asked, in what sense "Pater Patriae" was a classical "Roman epithet" and how was the ceremony of its acquisition by the autocrats of Rome constructed?

We should immediately note that the acceptance of the title Pater Patriae by Peter I was in full accordance with the ceremonial procedure established in Ancient Rome and arose from the precedent of the adoption of this formula by the founder of the Roman Empire, Emperor Augustus (63 BC - 14 AD).

This ritual of the emperor acquiring the status of "Father of the Fatherland" included a clear sequence of three steps:

a) the title "Pater Patriae" was to be officially bestowed on the emperor on behalf of the Senate and citizens;

b) each new emperor did not immediately and automatically receive this title; some time had to pass before the next autocrat of Rome could be officially honored as "Pater Patriae" (the only exception here was Pertinax (126 - 193 AD))[98].

The delay in the adoption of the formula "Pater Patriae" by the autocrat of Rome was not accidental, but followed the archetypal model

[97]Hughes L. Russia in the Age of Peter the Great. - New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998. - P. 97.

[98]Meissner B. Pater patriae // Archive for Oriental Studies. - 1932-1933 (vol. 8). - P. 224.

established at the very beginning - the "ceremonial precedent" in the biography of Augustus.

As an example, we can cite the acquisition of this titular formula by the Roman emperor Hadrian: "He postponed accepting the title of 'Father of the Fatherland', which was offered to him immediately and again later, because Augustus had earned the title at a later stage... By refusing it [the title] until he felt he deserved it, Hadrian was to set a precedent followed by Pius (86 - 161 AD). e.) and Marcus (121 - 180 AD)"[99].

That is, it seems that "Pater Patriae" is not an automatically inherited title formula of the ruler of Rome, but a kind of kind of honorary symbolic "thanks" from "the people", which a popular emperor could receive from representatives of the community (Senate) at the very peak of his popularity.

c) before the official adoption of the status formula "Pater Patriae" by the autocrat of Rome was recorded, its preliminary involvement in the space of unofficial "panegyric texts" had to take place: this is how the previous "national" love and mass recognition of the ruler as worthy of such an honor had to be witnessed.

So, for example, the expansion of the inscription "Pater Patreae" in imperial monumentalism regarding the reign of Hadrian began long before he officially accepted this title - as a result of a kind of popular recognition of his new status[100].

Later, the Renaissance revived this tradition. An example here is the situation regarding the honorific honoring of Cosimo de' Medici: "in the rhetorical humanist writings Cosimo ... was discussed as Patres Patriae twenty-four years before the title was officially conferred on Cosimo"[101].

In addition, the main reason for Cosimo's acceptance of this title should have been "expulsion of the enemy from the territory of the Motherland": "...if Camillus or Cicero deserve to be called Patres Patriae

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[99] Bennett J. Hadrian and the Title Pater Patriae // Britannia. - 1984 (Nov.). - Vol. 15. - P. 235.

[100] Bennett J. Hadrian and the Title Pater Patriae // Britannia. - 1984 (Nov.). - Vol. 15. - P. 235.

[101] Brown A.M. The Humanist Portrait of Cosimo de' Medici, Pater Patriae // Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes. - 1961 (Jul. - Dec.). - Vol. 24. - №. ¾. - 1961. - P. 191

by the Romans, then why not Lorenzo, who, like them, expelled the enemy from the gates of his city in a moment of extreme danger"[102].

So, Feofan Prokopovich, in the "Panegyric", that is, on behalf of the people (Kyiv community), presented Peter I with the title "Father of the Motherland", recognizing his merits in expelling the "enemy" (Swedes) from the territory of the Fatherland (from near Poltava)[103]. And this was supposed to happen and happened long before the king officially accepted the title from the head of the Senate - during the celebration of the "great victory" - the final conclusion of the Nystadt Peace with Sweden.

As it seems, in the case of Peter I, everything was implemented in full accordance with the ancient Roman ceremonial renewed in the Early Modern era. And this means that we are dealing with a long-term, multi-year strategy to change the geopolitical status of the Moscow ruler, a strategy that imitated the ancient Roman ceremonial and in which the "agent" of F. Prokopovich was involved in the Kyiv (and probably pre-Kyiv) period of his biography.

However, under the classical Latin code of the ruler's titulary, did not Eliseus of Cereus hide other, local, Ukrainian meanings?

We have great respect for the national context of F. Prokopovich's first interpretation of the "Roman epithet" of Peter I: "What do we say, when by insidious instigation and secret leadership from the accursed

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[102] Brown A.M. The Humanist Portrait of Cosimo de' Medici, Pater Patriae // Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes. - 1961 (Jul. - Dec.). - Vol. 24. - №. ¾. - 1961. - P. 190.

[103] Actually, as Julius Just noted, the trigger for Peter I's desire to accept the imperial title was the battle of Poltava itself: "However, despite (all this), both in Russia and abroad there are people who (searched) and especially now, after the Poltava victory, are looking for a way to refer to the royal court with the imperial title, at the same time convincing the tsar to obtain (recognition of) this title from all the crowned persons of Europe... he [the tsar] did not accepts this title with no secret pleasure. For their part, the royal ministers, wanting to indirectly show that the kingdom of their sovereign is an empire, and (counting on that) to personally enjoy great honor and importance, obtained from the king the titles of imperial grand chancellor and imperial vice-chancellor. State Vice-Chancellor Shafirov, more than others, aspires to be equal to the imperial ministers, which is encouraged by his royal envoy Urbih, who was at the imperial court for some time and who had previously served in Denmark. It is laughable that State Vice-Chancellor Shafirov demands equality with the Roman Imperial Vice-Chancellor, while, in fact, he is no more than a Dyak (Cancelier), of which there are over forty in Moscow. The Roman Vice-Chancellor really manages all the affairs of the Roman Empire in Vienna and is the Vicar of the Elector of Mainz, the true Chancellor of the Roman Empire."

Treasurer he was brought inside the smallest Russia [for he himself could never have, and would not have dared to fight] here truly is strength for our Adversary, and for you, the Father of our Fatherland: Most Serene Monarcho: multiply your labors..."[104].

First, let's take into account the language code: no Latin. "Pater Patriae" does not exist here; there is its "translation equivalent" - understandable words. "Father of the Fatherland" ("Father of the Fatherland").

Secondly, there are local connotations: the name "Father of the Motherland" by F. Prokopovich used it for the first time in the context of Ukraine ("little Russia") against the background of the "damned Changeling" - Hetman I. Mazepa

Obviously, for Ukraine (Hetmanship) until 1708, the traditional role of such a powerful "father" was always performed by the Hetman - Jan-Ivan Mazepa-Koledynskyi. In his Kyiv sermon, addressing Peter I and, at the same time, the local people, the influential Orthodox hierarch tried to legitimize a new, comprehensible to the population nature of relations with the supreme power. His message was quite simple: now the immediate "father" of our (your) "motherland" is Tsar Peter, and the Hetman (Mazepa) is a "damned" (literally condemned to "anathema") "traitor".

Thus, probably recorded in the text of F. Prokopovich's first combination of the "Moscow monarch" and the "father of the fatherland" (in the sermon they go side by side) could be based on Ukrainian tradition - in the sense in which the Hetman or, for example, the head of the Zaporizhzhya Nizovy Army, could traditionally be called "father-atan" or, much later, Empress Catherine II "Mother". Later, in the XX century. this Ukrainian tradition was transformed into the naming of military leaders: the most obvious example here can be the image of "Father" Makhno...

Therefore, the retention of the address "Father of the Fatherland" in the expanded titulary of Peter I could also contain a distinct Ukrainian connotation, which would allow the natives of "Little Russia" to recognize the ruler of Muscovy as their rightful owner - the "father-monarch". In addition, in our opinion, since the address "Father of the Fatherland" was used by Feofan separately and earlier for "emperor", then we should

[104] Prokopovich F. Panegirikos or a word of praise about the glorious Victory over the Suean Troops to Peter the First All-Russian Monarch, given by God. - K.: Printing house of the Holy Great Miracle-Working Lavra of Kiev Pechersk was printed, 1709. - P. 3 (A g).

consider "emperor" as an "appendix" to the new titular formula of the monarch - a kind of auxiliary expansion of the basis - "rank of fatherhood".

And the point here is not that on the title of iconic texts by F. Prokopovich, for example, in the title of the program pamphlet "The Truth of the Will of the Monarchs of Peter the Great, the Father of the Fatherland, the Emperor and Autocrat of All Russia, etc., etc., etc.", which legitimized the legal rights of Peter I, the "Father of the Fatherland", apparently "preceding" the "Emperor". There were some texts by F. Prokopovich, in which the "Emperor" started the title series, which means that it did not have a clearly fixed place. It is about the fact that this "triad" formula of the title of the Moscow monarch could be replaced by F. Prokopovich another, homogeneous in its structure, but one in which the "emperor", having received substitutes, disappeared as a "variable", leaving the constant in its rightful place - the "Father of the Motherland".

In the "Concise Story of the Death of Peter" the triadic series of tributes to Peter I in the posthumous titulary looked like this: "who would not be hurt by the real death of such a sovereign, hero and father of the country"[105] or in another place near the end of the text "and such was our last service to the great Hero, the Sovereign and our father"[106].

It is obvious that the unchanged title, and therefore the most important element of its structure for F. "Father of the Fatherland" was performed by Prokopovich. And, it is also obvious that it was absent in the tradition of symbolic designation of supreme power on the territory of Muscovy.

This complication of the title formula due to innovation - "Father of the Fatherland" - greatly complicated its reception by the conservative Orthodox community and its powerful sacralization: "...new titles outraged traditionalists, who believed (wrongly) that the term "father of the fatherland" usurped the spiritual authority of the absent patriarch-father"[107].

And yet F. Prokopovich did not just dare to implement it, which once again testifies to its primary importance.

In this context, at least two legitimate questions arise:

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[105] Prokopovich F. A short story about the death of Peter. - St. Petersburg: Type. Glazunov, 1831. - P. 7.

[106] Prokopovich F. A short story about the death of Peter. - St. Petersburg: Type. Glazunov, 1831. - P. 38.

[107] Hughes L. Peter the Great. A biography. - Yale University Press, 2002.

a) what reasons forced the pietist circle to emphasize exactly such a construction, in which the title of "emperor" in the hierarchy of status designations only accompanied the main figure "father of the fatherland"?

b) what strategy of legitimization of this innovative figure of the title of the Moscow ruler and the sacralization of his power relied on F. Prokopovich?

If our hypothesis about the pietistic utopian project of constructing a new Western ideal ("Protestant") empire in the East is correct[108], then the disclosure of these topics should be sought in the reinterpretation of F. Prokopovich of the legacy of M. Luther - its very basis, the "symbol of faith", that is, the "catechism".

Shortly before the Kyiv intellectual put into circulation the "paternal" formula of the Muscovite autocrat, the leader of pietism A. Franke in 1701-1704. actively implemented the didactic practice of introducing Luther's "Small Catechism" in educational institutions in Prussia as a form of spreading the practices of pietism: "...now it should be clear how pietism appeared, at least in Prussia, through its influence on elementary schools, we can begin to assess the extent to which pietism contributed to Bible reading and literacy... . In the "Order" for the German school in Halle, published in 1702, Franke prescribed a detailed lesson plan aimed at teaching students to read the Bible hourly. For six days a week, three or more of the seven daily classroom hours were devoted to teaching religious literacy. At first, children learned to pronounce words by chanting Luther's "Small Catechism"[109].

It is significant that "Catechism" by F. After its first publication, Prokopovich's work received a favorable assessment from the "center" of

[108] This is the construction of a Western utopia on the territory of the Muscovite Kingdom of the XVIII century. consisted of two elements: the activity (mimicry) of political projects of local actors-agents under the state ideal constructed by Western intellectuals: "Steven Bayer provides a fascinating understanding of the rhetoric of Paradise in Russian literature and culture of the 18th century. Bayer identifies a strong trend of satirical utopia and "panegyric utopia" created for and at the courts of Tsar Peter the Great and Catherine the Great. Bayer claims that "many writers in eighteenth-century Russia essentially modified the traditional Western concept of utopia to claim that the ideal state actually arose in modern Russia" (Pohl N. The Quest for Utopia in the Eighteenth Century // Literature Compass. - 2008. - No. 5 / 4. - P. 697). The creators and at the same time modifiers of the Western (pietist) utopia obviously included F. Prokopovich

[109] Gawthrop R., Strauss G. Protestantism and Literacy in Early Modern Germany // Past & Present. - 1984 (August). - no. 104. - P. 48. So, the beginning of learning literacy - the first reading exercises were connected with the learning of Luther's "Small Catechism".

the intellectual network - Prussia, in terms of its conformity to Lutheran dogmas - Luther's "Catechism": "The Prussian ambassador in St. Petersburg, Gustav von Mardefeld, wrote in a report to King Friedrich Wilhelm I dated August 11, 1721, that Prokopovich's catechism was "thoroughly composed in the Lutheran manner"[110].

It is also significant that the change of F. Prokopovich's reformation of the "content" of the confession of faith - the reformatting of religious dogmatics into Lutheran took place simultaneously with Theophan's change of the religious organizational "form" - the Orthodox church structure in the "Spiritual Regulation" he wrote: "Theophan was the author of the new church order, proclaimed in 1721, which finally abolished the patriarchate, which had been vacant since 1700, and replaced it body, the "Holy Synod", which suspiciously resembled the consistory of the German state church. Otherwise, the church decree obliged the clergy to take care of their own education and the education of the faithful and, in particular, to fight against the so-called "superstitions" or traditional piety, - forms of worship: in addition to the rules about fasting, in particular, local cults honoring saints, relics and miracles, singing hymns, maintenance or new construction of redundant churches and chapels, etc.[111]

It is not accidental in the space of these total Lutheran pietistic contexts that the original of the first edition of the "Catechism" by

[110] Ivanov A.V. A Spiritual Revolution The Impact of Reformation and Enlightenment in Orthodox Russia. - Madison, Wisconsin : The University of Wisconsin Press, 2020. - P. 67. In the territory of Orthodox Orthodoxy, the "Slovenian" version of Luther's "Small Catechism" was introduced in 1628 - it was translated by order of King Gustav Adolf of Sweden and printed in Stockholm in the same year by Petrus Vancelav, which prompted the Greek Orthodox Church to prepare its own catechism The Moscow Patriarch Adrian wrote about this in his preface to the "Confession", where he says, among other things: "When the disciples of Dr. Martin Luther found beautiful and clear Slavic-Russian letters and translated the reasons and explanations of their false dogmas into pure Slavic language, they published books full of poison, one in quarto in the city of Nesvizh in 1562, and the second, shorter and smaller, in Stockholm in 1628; they called these books "catechism" or "doctrine", containing what a person should first of all know and study. Now it is difficult to say how much this book is full of the worst errors" (Nicolaus Bergius. A Historico-Theological Exercise on the Status of the Muscovite Church and Religion / Ed. by Ulla Birgegard and Monica Hedlund / Vittershets History and Antiquities Academy (Slavica Suecana, Series A – Publications, Vol. 3). - Stockholm, Royal, 2019. - P. 68 - 69).

[111] Erren L. Orthodox Enlightenment thinker or cynical Protestant? Feofan Prokopovič in the judgment of German and Russian historiography // Yearbook of the BKGE. - 2015. - № 23. - P. 63.

F. Prokopovich from June 23, 1720 was relatively recently "unexpectedly" found precisely in the Francke Foundation (Franckesche Stiftung) in Halle[112], and before that it was known only from bibliographical descriptions of the 19th century.

Regarding the didactic and theological interests of Eliseus of Cereus in 1720, they obviously revolved around the educational and educational "Halle model": "This archbishop Theophanes, who is also called Prokopovich, demands from the theological faculty a copy of all the rules, statutes, laws and privileges of the University of Halle. Likewise he desires regulations, statutes, laws, and privileges, and methodum docendi, disciplinam adhibendi etspectee fugendi [method of teaching, discipline of employment, and prospect of exit—Latin], together with the distribution of classes, hours, and lessons in each class both in the German and Latin schools, and in both the Paedagogio regio [pedagogic region—Latin] and the orphanage... He would also like books and treatises that dealt with raising children, founding schools, and other similar issues...[113]"

How popular was "Catechism" by F. Prokopovich and, accordingly, what influence did this "primer" have on the education and religio-political education of a new generation of officials of the empire?

Yes, "in 1722 "The First Teaching of Otrotsam" became the official textbook of all diocesan schools. The children who studied in these so-called episcopal and arithmetical schools were required to memorize parts of it."[114] Since 1723, a series of publications of numerous translations of the "teachings" of F. Prokopovich abroad as an official presentation of the dogmas of the "Russian faith": German (1723), two editions of the English translation by Jenkin Phillips (the so-called Russian Catechism, 1723 and 1725), Romanian (1726) and two more English in 1845.[115]

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[112] Div.: Guseva A. A. Collection of Russian books of the 18th century Cyrillic printing of printing houses in Moscow and St. Petersburg and a universal method of their identification. - M., 2010. - No. 1711.

[113] From the letter of Peter Müller from St. Petersburg to A.G. Franke dated January 29, 1720. Citation by: T. Wotschke: Der Pietismus in Moskau // Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Polen. - 1930. - No. 18. - S. 86 - 87.

[114] Ivanov A.V. A Spiritual Revolution. The Impact of Reformation and Enlightenment in Orthodox Russia. - Madison, Wisconsin : The University of Wisconsin Press, 2020. - P. 68.

[115] Ibid. - P. 68. In general, the works of F. Prokopovich was actively translated and distributed in German lands: "Feofan Prokopovich, who was known and appreciated by

Three years after the appearance of the "First Instruction to the Otrotsam" - this "Russian" completely "Lutheran" catechism, F. Prokopovich, in 1723 Colonel Johann von Kampenhausen (1689 - 1758) presented to Peter I the first printed "Russian" translation of the "Small Catechism" by A. G. Franke, performed by his "Russian agent" K. M. Rodde: "Probably, it was this version of the catechism that the "emperor" liked, because two years later he ordered the printing of the "Small Catechism" (already as Russian) with a circulation of 1,000 copies. But this did not happen, probably because of Peter's death.[116]" However, there is evidence that the "Small Catechism" of A. Franke in Russian was presented to the tsar already in 1719, and it seems that a batch of 100 copies was printed on the territory of the empire.[117]

One of the significant researchers of this topic S. Mengel believes that "the translation of K. M. Rodde from Halle had a real chance to

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German scientists. The Silesian city of Breslau became one of such centers where the works of Kyiv scientists were published. Here, entrepreneurs Korn brothers were engaged in publishing and selling books, through them the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy ordered books for its library, published both in German lands and in other European countries. They published a collection of Latin-language sermons, poems, journalism by Feofan Prokopovich... With the support of J. I. The original works of Feofan Prokopovich were also published in Leipzig. His course of theology read at the academy was published in Königsberg, Gotha, Leipzig, sermon at the funeral of Peter I - in Hamburg. These editions were also in many libraries" (Dzyuba O. German book in the libraries of Ukraine // Ukraine in Central Eastern Europe. - 2004. - No. 4, - C. 318).

[116] Citation by: Chelbaeva T. "Russian books" from Halle in the discourse of the formation of a new type of Russian literary language // Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophie (Dr. Phil.) vorgelegt der Philosophischen Fakultät II Institut für Slavistik und Sprechwissenschaft der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, von Frau Tatjana Chelbaeva, Tag der Verteidigung: 29. Januar 2015. - C. 87. "Small Catechism" A. Franke was published in the Russian language in Halle three times - in 1704 (translator Jochim), in 1718 (translator Caspar Matthias Rodde) and in 1735 (corrector Simon Todorsky, author of the translation - Rodde, and proofreader - J. Glyuk).

[117] "Already in a letter dated May 5, 1719, E. Gutslaf (E. Gutslaf d. Ä.) reports that the translation of the "Small Catechism" printed in Halle by A. G. Franke, performed by K. M. Rodde, was presented to Peter by his relatives as evidence of interest in the Russian language in Germany. "His Majesty" was favorably disposed to the "treatise" and ordered it to be republished in St. Petersburg with a circulation of 100 copies" (Mengel S. Unknown variant of the Russian literary language of the Dolomonosov period / Bertolissi S., Salvatore R. (Hg.) / Forma Formans. Studi in onore di Boris Uspenskij. - Bd.II Napoli: D'Auria, 2010. - P. 61).

become the official Russian catechism.[118]" Moreover, the king was not completely satisfied with the dogmatic text of F. Prokopovich. To justify her opinion, the researcher cites an excerpt from Rodde's correspondence dated June 25, 1725.[119]

It all looks like the "agents" of the network were promoting "The First Lesson to Otrotsam" by F. Prokopovich as an "intermediate element", the first step of the strategy of pietistic conversion of the population of the All-Russian Empire in accordance with the model of gradual "adaptation" of "Orthodoxy" to Lutheran dogmas, which was to end with a concise formula of "enlightening the people and revealing the truth to them" - the adoption of the "true" catechism of A. Franke as the basis of the "Russian faith".[120]

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[118] Mengel S. An unknown variant of the Russian literary language of the pre-Lomonosov period / Bertolissi S., Salvatore R. (Hg.) / Forma Formans. Studi in onore di Boris Uspenskij. - Bd.II Napoli: D'Auria, 2010. - P. 61.

[119] Here is this passage: "Shortly before his death, the tsar held a council with the most noble and influential church figures in the country to resolve the issue of how to enlighten the people and reveal the truth to them in the simplest and shortest form. His Majesty said that the Russian catechism was still too long, it should be shorter, and suggested the aforementioned treatise [i.e. translation of "Small Catechism" by A. G. Franke] to be checked by church scholars and clergy and published in several thousand copies. Immediately the archbishop [F. Prokopovich] (because he knew that I had translated the treatise) sent the vicar to me with a message about His Majesty's proposal and demanded one copy of the treatise" (Mengel S. Neizvestnyi variant russkogo literaturnogo yazyka dolomonosovskogo period / Bertolissi S., Salvatore R. (Hg.) / Forma Formans. Studi in onore di Boris Uspenskij. - Bd.II Napoli: D'Auria,, 2010. - S. 61).

[120] It is obvious that the legal basis for the implementation of these plans of Peter I on the "Protestantization" of faith was his order dated 8 (18) September 1723 regarding the publication of Protestant catechisms - "Decree of Peter I Saints. The Synod on the translation into Slavic of the Protestant books of the extensive Catechism and the Clerk, having taken them from the Riga superintendent: "...the most holy and powerful sovereign Peter the Great, emperor and autocrat of All Russia, being in the Trinity Cathedral, ordered Protestant books from Riga from the local superintendent, the Catechism extensive, and not such as was briefly composed for the training of a young man, and the official, who took it to the Synod, translated it into the Slavic dialect. Theophilus, Archimandrite Chudovsky" (Mengel S. Unknown variant of the Russian literary language of the Dolomonosov period / Bertolissi S., Salvatore R. (Hg.) / Forma Formans. Studi in onore di Boris Uspenskij. - Bd.II Napoli: D'Auria, 2010. - P. - P. 86). Prior to this, a previous order dated January 16, 2023 required Peter I to print catechisms of all Christian denominations ("Decree of Peter I of the Holy Synod on the collection of catechisms of the Roman, Lutheran, and Calvinist churches and other church books and on translating them into Russian for printing"). The practical consequence of the emperor's decrees

What was this "Lutheran manner" of the formally "Orthodox catechism" of F. Prokopovich[121] and why its first edition ended up (and was preserved) in Halle? Or, to specify the question - how is Luther's catechism related to the formula "Father of the Fatherland", which was introduced by a Ukrainian intellectual to the full title of Peter I as its basis?

The fact is that in the symbol of faith "father" of the German religious reformation, this formula appears in the context of the commandment "honor your father and mother": "...any authority flows from and extends from the authority of parents. For where a father is unable to bring up his [rebellious and irritable] child by himself, he hires a teacher to teach him; if he is too weak, he turns to his friends and neighbors for help; if he departs this life, he delegates and transfers his power and administration to others appointed for that purpose. In like manner he must have under him men-servants, men-servants, and maid-servants, to rule the house, that all whom we call masters may be in the place of their parents, and should receive from them their power and authority to rule. Therefore all of them are also called fathers in the Holy Scriptures, as those who in their government perform the functions of a father and should have a fatherly heart towards their subordinates. Besides,

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provoked by the pietists was the distribution of works by M. Luther and other influential Protestant theologians: "The works of Martin Luther, in particular, the Bible, the New Testament, the Catechism, were in the libraries of educational institutions, monasteries and private ones, for example, in the cathedral library of the Sophia Monastery (in 5 volumes), in the library of the Michael Monastery (New Testament, Halle, 1738), in the Chernihiv Collegium. In the library of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, along with the works of M. Luther also had an index of all his books-manuscripts (Register aller Bucher und Schriften Lutheri). In the library of the Poltava Theological Seminary, which received the library of the Pereyaslav Collegium, the Bible of Martin Luther, published in Nuremberg in 1755, was kept." (Dzyuba O. S. German book in the libraries of Ukraine (XVIII ct.) // Ukraine in Central-Eastern Europe, - 2004. - No. 4, 2004 - P. 309 - 310).

[121] The topic of compliance with the "Catechism" by F. Prokopovich's Lutheran model, in particular, the tradition of starting with the Decalogue was emphasized by many researchers. For example, Margarita Corzo notes in this regard: "the very placing of the commandments of the Old Testament in the first place in the First Doctrine was rather a tribute to the Lutheran catechetical tradition: a detailed justification of why the exposition of the Christian doctrine should begin precisely with the Decalogue was offered by Luther in the work of 1526. - in the German mass. And already from the Short Catechism of 1529. a similar catechetical model becomes dominant (although not the only one!) in the Lutheran tradition" (Korzo M. On Protestant influences, actual and imaginary: Orthodox catechisms from Stefan Zyzan to Feofan Prokopovich // Vyvlioɵika: E-Journal of Eighteenth-Century Russian Studies. - 2017. - Vol. 5. - P. 10).

from ancient times the Romans and other peoples called... their national rulers and overlords patres patriae, that is, fathers of the whole country, to the great shame of us Christians that we do not call them the same, or at least do not respect and honor them as such.[122]"

As we can see, its founder introduced one of the precepts into the Lutheran creed, which provided for the desired correction of the form of the official name of the ideal Christian ruler.

It is obvious that M. Luther was not just upset, but felt "great shame" from the fact that the autocrats of Europe today are not such "Fathers of the Fatherland" as he wished to see them, both in formal status and in essence.

It is also obvious that in the ideal Christian state that the followers of his teachings were to build, a true pious Christian monarch had to regain his dignity and honor - not least through the return of the lost title "Father of the Fatherland".

So, for Luther, "Pater Patriae" was not so much a usual form of expanding the title of the ancient pagan rulers of Rome - a kind of addition to the title "emperor", but an attempt to give this traditional form a new Christian content.[123]

Luther developed this theme not only in the catechism, but also in his other texts of dogmatic content, which testifies to the centrality of this political concept for Lutheran discourse. Susan Richter provides a far from complete list of the works of the leader of the German Reformation related to this plot: "The idea of this parallel role - both the head of the family and the sovereign ruler, was common... in the literature about the ideal Christian patriarch - in "Mirrors for princes", in sermons based on Luther's "Great Catechism", in his treatise "Temporal power - to what extent she ought to be obeyed" in 1523 and in Erasmus's "Humanistic Address to the Honorary Title of the Roman Emperor Pater Patriae" in his "Institutio

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[122] Dr. Luther M. The Large Catechism / Tanslated by F. Bente and W. H. T. Dau // Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church. - St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921).

[123] Such a strategy - an attempt to pass off innovation as a form of return to tradition - was common to all Protestant catechisms, including creeds from Luther and Calvin: "The catechism is a type of text, inherited in its Protestant form from Luther and Calvin, used as a central component of religious pedagogy... these new amendments to the faith claimed to provide a conservative return to fundamental, unchanging truths" (Eigen Figal S. When Brothers are Enemies: Frederick the Great's Catechism for War // Eighteenth-Century Studies - 43. - No. 1. - P. 28).

Principis Christiani"... Luther derived sovereignty from the functions and dignity previously held by fathers: he raised the ruler to the "status of father" which he took to be the most common: "Denn hie ist nicht ein enzelner vater sondern soviel mal vater, soviel er landsessen, buerger oder unterthane hat. Denn Gott gibt und erhelt uns durch sie (als durch unsere eltern) narung, Haus und hoff, schutz und sicherheit" ("For he is not one father, but as many fathers as he has barons, burghers or subjects. For through their hand God gives us (as well as our parents) sustenance, home and land, protection and security).[124]"

The European monarchs of the beginning of the 18th century, who relied on Lutheranism as the state religion, successfully integrated this title ("patres patriae") into the structure of their own power signature. Thus, regarding the "opponent" of Peter I - the Swedish king Charles XII - this formula was often prescribed by the authors of glorified stories and eulogies. Moreover, German intellectuals honored the Swedish monarch in this way already at the beginning of the 18th century. This formula regarding the Swedish king was often combined in the titles of texts that emphasized his confrontation with Muscovy. As an example, we can cite the work of the German lawyer and historian Johann Groningius (1669–1747) "History of the campaign against Russia, recently undertaken by Charles XII, the powerful king of Sweden, defender of the faith, peacemaker of the whole Christian world, the most successful conqueror of enemies, Pater Patriae, pious, just, brave and generous prince" - a book that was published in Hamburg in in 1701.[125]

It can be assumed that the use of F. Prokopovich of the figure of "Pater Patriae" in relation to Peter I precisely after his "victory" in the

[124] Richter S. Pater patriae sinensis. The Discovery of Patriarchal Rule in China and Its Significance for German Theories of State in the Eighteenth Century // Structures on the Move: Technologies of Governance in Transcultural Encounter / Ed. by S. Richter and A. Fluchter. - Heidelberg: Springer Science & Business Media, 2012. - P. 71.

[125] Пос.: Nicholas Bergius. A Historico-Theological Exercise on the Status of the Muscovite Church and Religion / Ed. by Ulla Birgegard and Monica Hedlund / Vittershets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien (Slavica Suecana, Series A – Publications, Vol. 3). - Stockholm, Kungl, 2019. - P. 91. The book of Groningius was published in Latin and originally had the following title: Groningii I. Historia expeditionis Russicae nuper susceptae a Carolo XII, Suecorum rege potentissimo, defensore fidei, pacatore orbis christiani, domatore hostium felicissimo, p.p. prince pio Iusto. fort magnanim. - Hamburgi: Libezeith, 1701. - 22S. As you can see, "pater patriae" is shortened in the title of the book to the abbreviation "p.p.", which may indicate the standard wide use of this formula in naming European autocrats.

Poltava "battle" was a "mirror strategy" of the Kyiv intellectual, which was supposed to symbolize the loss of "fortune" by the Swedish king - the transfer of the honorary imperial title from one Christian Lutheran ruler (the defeated Charles XII) to another (the winner of Peter I).

However, this struggle for the appropriate imperial formula, which unfolded invisibly between these two "defenders of the faith" and "peacemakers of Christendom" at the beginning of the XVIII c. then, in the 16th century, at the time of M. Luther, could only look like an unrealized fantasy of a religious reformer, which he forever enshrined in his symbol of faith. But it is precisely from the beginning of the 20s of XVIII c. - at the same time, when Peter I officially received the title of "Emperor" and "Father of the Fatherland" - in the territories of the German states, there was a massive tendency for their numerous rulers to acquire the titular formula "Pater Patriae": "The idea of princely rule as paternal possession continued to gain popularity in German state and social discourse from the 1720s onwards, until the second half eighteenth century. Undoubtedly, the small size of the territories in Germany played its role in this development. On the other hand, the family and family relationships returned to the center of attention at this time.[126]. This was echoed by the fact that in foreign relations the Christian rulers of Europe XVIII c. continued to use the traditional family formula of "brotherhood", albeit in some "modernized" form.[127]

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[126] Richter S. Pater patriae sinensis. The Discovery of Patriarchal Rule in China and Its Significance for German Theories of State in the Eighteenth Century (Transcultural Research – Heidelberg Studies on Asia and Europe in a Global Context) // Structures on the Move: Technologies of Governance in Transcultural Encounter / Ed. by S. Richter and A. Fluchter. - Heidelberg: Springer Science & Business Media, 2012. - P. 72.

[127] The traditional system of relations between the rulers of Europe in the XVIII century. as a large family acquired changes. While relations within the Lutheran states were built on the principle of "fatherhood" ("Pater Patriae"), in external relations "European sovereigns used the "title of brother" when they corresponded with each other in peacetime to publicize their pledges of loyalty, while at the same time confirming mutual sovereign status and a certain common interest. This brotherhood not only marked those who had a recognized right to rule; its name was also a public declaration of the right of both friendship and enmity, since only the heads of brother states had the right to declare war. The privilege of addressing an ally (or enemy) as "brother" during ceremonies and correspondence was in fact a convention so carefully observed that subtler deviations from this practice were the subject of public speculation. At the beginning of the century, the young lawyer Johann Jacob Moser was forced to publish an essay entitled "Von dem Bruder-Titul unter großen Herrn, besonders denen gekrönten Häuptern" (1737). The

However, then, during the time of M. Luther - in the 16th century, this powerful formula, once possessed by the emperors of Rome, did not belong to Christian rulers. Maybe it was "lost" for many years and it lay unused? Or someone else, "enemy", in the 16th and 17th c. used it as a sovereign owner?

The answer to the question can be found in one of the books of the huge library of F. Prokopovich[128], in which, among other things, information is given about who claimed the undivided ownership of the title of "Pater Patriae": "Thus even in this the cunning of the evil spirit is amazing ... that the veneration that belongs only to Christ's vicar on earth, the Pope, is transferred to the heathen worship of savage peoples, like all the other sacraments of Christianity. The devil does this with his natural malice. Therefore, just as the Christians call the Roman pontiff the father of parents, so the barbarians call this miserable deity the Great Lama, that is, the High Priest. He is also called Lama Lama, i.e. Priest of Priests[129]".

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provocation for the essay was a letter from the emperor in 1735 to the newly crowned king of Sicily, in which His Imperial Majesty addressed the young king not as "brother", which could be expected, but as "cousin". Although the allusions to this particular quarrel and the gossip it gave rise to are of no importance here, Moser's essay, in which he outlines the various conditions for addressing fraternally, highlights the careful defense of the performative appellation brother (among monarchs) or cousin (for petty princes). It is important that this "title of brother" was reserved for European, that is, Christian, rulers. As Moser carefully observed, “After all, this exalted brotherhood exists only among the Christian European potentates, regardless of creed, whether Protestant or Reformed or Catholic or Greek; but not a single lord among all these ever acknowledged brotherhood with the Turkish emperor]. Since there was never any doubt about the Ottoman sultan's potential to negotiate peace or wage war, the failure to extend the title "brother" in his direction suggests another imbalance; it marks the limits of a symbolic family that ended on the neighboring frontiers of Christian Europe... This monarchical fraternity signified a shared identity that transcended the passing conditions of war and peace. Treaties and their betrayals came and went; but after the war against the brother ally everything could be put right again. The very rhetoric of brotherhood and the cognitive models it expressed were well suited to the conditions of diplomatic reconciliation after a political war" (Figal S. E. When Brothers are Enemies: Frederick the Great's Catechism for War // Eighteenth-Century Studies. - 2009 (Fall). - Vol. 43. - No. 1. - P. 23).

[128] For example, among the books of the library of F. Prokopovich, belonging to the authors of the Pietite circle, there were 10 books by the founding fathers of the Halle movement (3 works by Philipp Spener and 7 works by August Franke), as well as other significant persons — Joachim Lange (3 treatises), Johann Michaelis (2 texts) (Collis R. The Petrine instauration: religion, esotericism and science at the court of Peter the Great, 1689 – 1725. - Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012. - P. 345).

Thus, from this extremely popular in XVII-XVIII c. works of the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher - one of his active readers is F. Prokopovich[130] could find out that the only legitimate owner of the title "Father of the Fatherland" is the "Pontiff of Rome" - "the vicar of Christ on earth" - and that the manipulation of this title is the work of the unclean among pagan peoples, for example, Buddhists. This was the official position of the Catholic camp...

And, from such perspectives M. is prescribed. Luther, at the level of religious dogmatism, can consider the historical affiliation of this titular formula to the Christian rulers of Europe as another anti-papal gesture of the German reformer. The transfer of the title to the secular autocrats and the corresponding transfer of the fullness of spiritual power meant depriving the Pontiff of his own spiritual power.

Hence, the struggle of the Swedish king and the Moscow tsar for the honor of being called "Pater Patriae" - with their claim to higher spiritual authority - took place in the meaningful space of the Lutheran religious project and was directly directed against the figure of the Pope as an anti-Catholic Protestant gesture.

The following fact can serve as an example of such an anti-papal direction of the "spiritual" activity of the "Pater Patriae" - Emperor Peter. As the owner of the highest spiritual authority in the state, the "All-Russian Emperor" claimed to regulate monastic and monastic life, correcting errors that had accumulated in this area over the centuries. It is about the "Decree of Peter the Great on monasticism and monasteries" - the Holy Synod, marked with the signature of Peter Oleksiyovich dated January 31, 1724.

Despite the fact that most of this, in fact, anti-monastic Protestant "decree" was written by F. Prokopovich, the document itself was not created without the direct participation of Peter I. Here, the "Emperor of

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[129] Kircher A. China illustrated / Transl. by Dr. Charles D. Van Tuyl from the 1677 original Latin edition: Athanasius Kircher. China of Monuments, Which Sacred and which Profane, and not with the various Spectacles of Nature's Art, and other Memorable Things Illustrated with Arguments, under the Auspices of Leopold the First, Roman Imper. Always Augustus, most munificent Mecanati. - In Amsterdam, at Jacobum, in the ditch commonly called Keysergkracht, in 67 AD (1667). - P. 66

[130] “Prokopovich was certainly attracted to Kircher's writings, as his private library contained four of his major publications: China Monumentis Illiustrata; Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae; Ars Magnetica and Musurgia Universalis" (See: Collis R. The Petrine establishment: religion, esotericism and science at the court of Peter the Great, 1689–1725. - Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012. - P. 287).

All Russia" thought of himself as a "chosen" player on the historical stage, whose mission was to correct previous mistakes in the organization of monasticism, caused by other significant figures of higher spiritual and secular power. The Pope and the Emperor of Byzantium are the two historical opponents of the "Emperor of All Russia", who, according to the logic of the text of the "decree", distorted the original image of the monastic order.

On the one hand, the Pope appears in the “decree” as not being the “Antichrist”, but rather as an opponent of the will of God: “the power that some tried to spread by the example of the Pope, contrary to the command of God, in which the great burden of the truth was suffered by those who wished to correct this and corrected it with the help of God.”[131].

On the other hand, “the Greek emperors, having abandoned their rank, began to become hypocrites, then some rogues approached them and monasteries were no longer in the deserts, but in the cities themselves... they began to build.[132]"

Here the Tsar of Moscow acts in the role of the "apostle" Peter, who preaches from the city of St. Peter founded by him and, as "Imperator", opposes the Basileus of New Rome, correcting the errors of the Eastern Greek Church, and as "Pater Patria" opposes the Pontiff of Old Rome, getting rid of the errors of the Western Church. Therefore, the All-Russian Emperor is presented in the text of the "decree" as an ideal figure of the highest spiritual and secular power, which is called to oppose both "heretical" figures of history - the Pope and Basileus.

In the context of the carnival culture of Muscovy - the introduction by Peter I of "all-consecrated cathedrals", where the figure of the "prince-pope" was under the crosshairs of satire, this manipulation by F. Prokopovich with the official title of the Pope of Rome looks like a logical addition to his anti-papal strategy, in which the pontiff of Rome rose up in the traditional Protestant guise of the "antichrist".

Such a reinterpretation of the "Pater Patriae" meant not a simple declarative gesture of linguistic transfer and renaming, but should

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[131] Decree of Peter the Great on monasticism and monasteries / Chistovich I. Feofan Prokopovich and his time. - St. Petersburg: In the printing house of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1868. - P. 709 - 710.

[132] Decree of Peter the Great on monasticism and monasteries / Chistovich I. Feofan Prokopovich and his time. - St. Petersburg: In the printing house of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1868. - S. 712 - 713.

symbolically act as the quintessence of the entire "Catechism" of Luther (at least with regard to the question of reinterpretation of the relationship between the society of the ideal Christian state and political power)[133] - rethinking of the central "secular" commandment "honor your father and mother".

This new emphasis on the commandment regarding earthly "parents" is, to a certain extent, an "anti-papal" declaration - one of the cornerstones that distinguished Luther's teaching from Catholic teaching: "All this I say so that it may well impress the youth. For no one believes how necessary this commandment is, although it has not yet been honored and taught under the papacy."

In his catechism, Luther singled out three degrees of parental rank that were supposed to organize the social and power (political) structures of an ideal Christian state - parents, teachers and statesmen with an autocrat at the head.

Instead of one symbolic "Pope" - the power of many "ideal parents" - with the "Father of the Fatherland" at the head. This is what Luther's proposed "concept" of power looked like. And the one who accepted the new title of the Christian ruler - "father of the fatherland" - had to accept Luther's catechism as well and vice versa.

Such a dogmatic instruction was obviously supposed to attract all orphans and, probably, one fatherless boy from the Tsereysky family[134], who, in search of the figure of his "ideal" father, already had time to fall into frustration from the experienced meeting with the Pope in Rome. The didactic practice implemented by pietists, which shifted the emphasis to the upbringing and education of orphans and whose basic model was the

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[133] It is significant that all Protestant catechisms had a significant political component in their conception and implementation: "From the very beginning, the catechism was a tool that united and satisfied religious and political ambitions. The governing authorities in the new Protestant lands, seeking to ensure religious conformity in their territories for the sake of political stability, established parochial schools and used the local catechism as the main textbook" (Collis R. The Petrine instauration: religion, esotericism and science at the court of Peter the Great, 1689–1725. - Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012.. - P. 28).

[134] Probably, not the last reason why F. Prokopovich joined the Prussian pietist network and followed the practice of A. Franke in founding a school for orphans in St. Petersburg could be the facts of his biography: "Prokopovich founded a school for orphans in the suburbs of the capital (of which he himself was one)... In addition to traditional religion, Russian, Greek and arithmetic, geometry courses were offered here, geography, history and painting" (Rieber A.J. Politics and Technology in Eighteenth - Century Russia // Science in Context. - 1995. - No. 8 (2). - P. 353).

orphanage in Halle headed by "father" A. Franke - could not help but inspire Feofan Prokopovich. There, in In Halle, he received a real new spiritual family - a family of ideal "brothers" - relatives in faith and in life.

Luther's follower, Bezbatchenko Eliseus of Cereisky, who carried out the instructions of his "spiritual father" and projected the title of "Pater Patriae" on the ideal ruler of the new Protestant empire, also accepted the Protestant catechism of his teacher, passing it off as a new "Orthodox" symbol of faith. Because as much as F. Prokopovich's "Orthodox" catechism approached M. Luther's symbol of faith, P. Mohyla's 1637 catechism was as far removed from the previous Orthodox catechism. At least, if we talk about its structure in general and the fifth commandment in particular.

Thus, "in the Kyiv Catechism of 1637 the treatise on the 10 commandments was 5% of the content, 4 pages out of a total of 80 pages. Prokopovich needs 62 pages... out of a total of 108 pages... occupies 57% of the content"[135].

As for the 5th commandment... The biggest difference between the two "Orthodox" catechisms concerns the 5th commandment: "the commandment of paternal love - in the Kyiv Catechism of 1637, only the text of the commandment is quoted, therefore it is only about the father and the mother - Prokopovich first explains what should be understood by the father, namely: first the king, then the king's officials, and then only the biological parents... This commandment defines in detail, who has to follow whose orders and which team has priority. The explanation of other commandments is skilfully intertwined with the requirements of Peter's state for the faithful. Theft of public property is considered the 8th commandment, and working on Sunday is the 1st commandment. It is important that the 8 and 5 commandments are considered the most widely of all. The benefit of religion for Peter is obvious. If the will of the state is equated with the Word of God, then resistance to state power becomes heresy and sin and should become an unbearable burden on the conscience of a believer.[136]"

So, if P. Mogila interprets the commandment to honor one's father and mother literally, then F. Prokopovich - symbolically - in the Lutheran spirit, as the source of any power. But the Kiev follower of the Protestant Reformation did not simply accept, but "improved" Luther's concept, expanding it: where the German spiritual teacher saw the sacred trinity

[135] Tetzner J. Theophan Prokopovie and the Russian Early Enlightenment // Journal for Slavic Studies. Journal of Slavic Studies. - 1958. - Vol. III. - № 2. - P. 358-259.

[136] Ibid. - S. 359.

(three hypostases of parenthood), the student from Ukraine "put on the seven" (by distinguishing seven ranks of parenthood).

## § 3 Legitimization of the imperial title of Russia F. Prokopovich: The Confucian context of "Father of the Fatherland".

Feofan Prokopovich, in justifying the use of the title *Emperor*, listed a number of countries whose rulers, he claimed, lawfully bore such status titles: “An Emperor is no longer, as before, merely the supreme commander of military campaigns, but a true sovereign of his own Rome. And now this title is not granted to all kings, but only to the rulers of great and multiethnic nations — such as the Russian, the Tours, the Chinese, the rulers of Eastern India, and others.”[137]

It is significant that, while adopting a purely Western system of international status coordinates for monarchs — affirming at the theoretical level the supreme hierarchical position of the title *Emperor of Rome* over the standard titles of European autocrats such as *king* — Feofan Prokopovich, on the empirical level of examples, oriented the imperial vector eastward, placing Russia within a framework of exclusively Asian empires, including what he called *Kyatekhina*.

Thus, the imperial mental map of this Ukrainian intellectual contained asymmetrical images of West and East: Europe was represented rather minimally — apparently for the limited theoretical purpose of affirming the special status of the Roman emperor — while the East, together with Russia, appeared as a mental space rich with examples of classical empires.

Prokopovich, it seems, mentally "traveled" along the eastern borders of Muscovy, which, on its Asian frontier, neighbored empires he regarded as subordinate in status to Russia’s monarch. As he put it: *“Circle around — or better yet, wander in your mind... here is our river Dnieper... then south, from there eastward to the Caspian or Khvalin Seas, even to the borders of the Persian Empire, and from there to the farthest regions, where hardly a*

[137] Prokopovich F. Historical search, for the sake of wines and in Jacob's mind the emperors of Rome, both paganism and Christianity, were called pontifexes or bishops of the polytheistic law, and in the law of Christianity, Christianity, can sovereigns be named bishops and bishops and in what mind. - St. Petersburg: Printed at the St. Petersburg Printing House, 1721. - P. 9.

*word of the Kingdom of Kitay has reached us... these are the bounds of our Monarch."*[138]

It is obvious that among the two Asian neighbors of Muscovy holding the status of *kingdoms* — Persia and *Kitaekhina* — as listed in the 1709 text, only one, namely *Kitaekhina*, would later, in 1721, be included by Feofan Prokopovich in the cohort of *classical empires*. It would therefore follow the same trajectory of international status transformation from *kingdom* to *empire* that the Kyiv intellectual envisioned and *prescribed* for the Muscovite state.

However, adherents of the Western strategy for adopting the titles *emperor* and *father of the fatherland* have typically overlooked this asymmetrical, eastward-leaning imperial context — especially the

[138] Prokopovich F. A panegyric or a word of praise about the glorious victory over the Svejskyi Pobede to Peter the First All-Russian Monarch, given by God. - K.: Printing houses of the Holy Great Miraculous Lavra of the Pechersk of Kiev, printed, 1709. - P. 2 (A b). Serhii Plokhiy conducted a detailed textual analysis of this work, comparing it with the drama "Voladymir" on the subject of a change in the Kyiv intellectual's understanding of the localization of Russia and Little Russia. The conclusion reached by the Harvard professor: "Prokopovich almost never perceived Russia as a multi-national or multi-ethnic state. He mostly avoided the term "empire" to refer to Russia, preferring the terms "state" or "monarchy". In this way, he imposed on the existing imperial state the concept of an ethnically and religiously homogeneous Russian (Russian) people, which Kyiv scientists of the 17th century developed in relation to their lands. This Kyivan "Russia" did not have a "Russian monarch", and Prokopovich found a perfect embodiment of the Kyivan Orthodox dream of its own monarch in the transformed and renamed Muscovy of Peter's time. This strategy contributed to the emergence of Russia on the path of modern nation-building, and Prokopovich became a tireless builder and spreader of the national image of the Russian Empire" (Plohiy S. The origin of the Slavic nations. Pre-modern identities in Ukraine, Russia and Belarus. - K.: Krytyka, 2015. - P. 307). In our opinion, this analysis of Prof. WITH. Plochia needs some addition. First, F. Prokopovich embodied not the Orthodox, but the Protestant (pietist) utopia of the "ideal Christian state" and the ideal church, built organizationally and dogmatically on the Prussian (Lutheran) model. Secondly, for the colonization project of F. Prokopovich, as well as other representatives of the missionary Pietist network, the actual ethnic origin and localization of the settlement of the natives were not important. The borders of this empire were determined not by the internal limits of the settlement of one or another ethnic group, but by the outer center of the city. Halle along the lines of colonization and missionary activity - the borders of China and Persia. For this territory of heterogeneous ethnic groups, the Pietist network developed the Koine - Dolomonosov "Russian" language. As we can see, to denote the essence of any empire (including the All-Russian) F. Prokopovych used an interesting construction: "a great multilateral nation", which assumed the existence of many provincial countries within the framework of the construction of a common nation.

emphasis on *Kitaekhinsky* — within which one of the principal architects of the Russian Empire imagined its rightful position.

This *blindness* appears even more striking when one considers that developments in China did not escape the public interest of Muscovy's subjects in the early eighteenth century. It is telling that in the very first issue of the newspaper founded by Peter I (*Vedomosti*, dated January 2, 1703), among the *top news stories* was information from both the Persian and Chinese states. In the case of Persia, the report concerned a diplomatic gesture — a gift from the "Indian king" to the Moscow ruler: *"It is written from Persia: the Indian king sent an elephant as a gift to our great sovereign."*[139] *m*eanwhile, news from China captivated readers with accounts of Christian missions carried out by the Society of Jesus, and notably, the changing attitude toward these missions at the court of the Celestial Empire: *"They write from Siberia: in the Chinese state, the Jesuits were widely disliked for their cunning, and some of them were even put to death."*[140]

From the texts of Jesuit missionaries themselves, Feofan Prokopovich could also obtain information about the "Kitayekhina Empire." At least one book in the extensive library of the Kyiv intellectual was dedicated to China. This was the work of the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680) — *Athanasius Kircher, China monumentis illustrata* (Amstelodami, apud de Keysergracht, MDCLXVII. 237 p. Fol).

From Kircher's book, Prokopovich could learn, for example, that *"the Chinese empire is the richest and most powerful of all… It possesses a monarchy more absolute than any other kingdom in the world today."*[141]

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[139] Vedomosti on Military and Other Affairs Worthy of Knowledge and Memory That Occurred in the Muscovite State and in Other Neighboring Countries (2 January 1703). – 1 sheet.

[140] Prokopovich F. A panegyric or a word of praise about the glorious victory over the Svejskyi Pobede to Peter the First All-Russian Monarch, given by God. - K.: Printing houses of the Holy Great Miraculous Lavra of the Pechersk of Kiev, printed, 1709. - P1-2.

[141] Kircher A. China illustrated / Transl. by Dr. Charles D. Van Tuyl from the 1677 original Latin edition: Athanasius Kircher. China of Monuments, Which Sacred and which Profane, and not with the various Spectacles of Nature's Art, and other Memorable Things Illustrated with Arguments, under the Auspices of Leopold the First, Roman Imper. Always Augustus, most munificent Mecanati. - In Amsterdam, at Jacobum, in the ditch commonly called Keysergkracht, in 67 AD (1667). - P. 159.

Why not focus on the best and most successful example of constructing a new "ideal" empire with absolute power — in the colonized lands of Muscovy? It was also noted that the political system of this most powerful Asian empire was based not only on absolute but also on hereditary imperial authority: *"The entire empire is ruled by an emperor who consults with no one. The monarchy is passed from father to son. If the ruler has no son, another close relative by blood becomes the heir."*[142].

According to the author of the book, there are *"six tribunals"* close to the emperor: *"...six tribunals are established, and all cases, lawsuits, and disputes throughout the empire are brought before them. They serve as judges in matters concerning revenue, rituals, the army, and public construction."*[143]

With a certain superficial view, parallels can be drawn between these "tribunals", etc. call The "Supreme Secret Council" of the All-Russian Empire, which was initially represented by the 6 most influential persons of the state and which was formed around the figure of the emperor after the death of Peter I.

A close friend of F. Prokopovich, famous orientalist academician of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, Siegfried Bayero, who wrote the first biography of the Kyiv intellectual - he dedicated his work on China to him (Lexicon Sinicum ex volustis lexsicis et alies libris congestum ataae Academiae Imperatoriae Petropolitanae consecratum a T. S. Bayero): "in 1730, a professor at the Academy, who at the same time was a teacher at the school Feofana, Siegfried Bayer dedicated his work to Prokopovich under the title: "Museum Sinicum" (Chinese Museum)".[144]

Feofan Prokopovych replied to Bayer in a letter dated February 14, 1731, in which he noted that he was happy about the appearance of "Sinica", but still had not received the manuscript of the work. And he further noted: "Now I am looking forward to the publication of this work, so that it will shed so much desired light on me, especially now that the ambassadors of this nation have arrived here, and I hope to have them as my guests. Thus, from the promised work, in which there is no doubt that there is no lack of anything that will be necessary for me, I will receive

[142] Kircher A. China illustrated / Transl. by Dr. Charles D. Van Tuyl from the 1677 - P. 161.

[143] Kircher A. China illustrated / Transl. by Dr. Charles D. Van Tuyl from the 1677 - P. 161.

[144] Chistovich I. Feofan Prokopovich and his time. - St. Petersburg: In the printing house of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1868. - P. 619.

information about Chinese affairs, which in dealing with them may expose me not entirely poor in foreign education - which will somewhat gratify my vanity; and in the meantime, I am completely convinced that it will bring at least some benefit to our Christians as well."[145]

We should emphasize several points based on this correspondence:

First, that Feofan, as the leader of the Prussian pietist sub-network, could not help but be immersed in "Chinese affairs". Her other counterparts knew about it - such as the orientalist Bayer, whose dedication to a Chinese work could act as a kind of "password".

Secondly, Feofan's communication with Chinese guests was organized at the highest level: the bishop was going to receive representatives of the Eastern Empire - the ambassadors of the Chinese emperor - in a private space (at his home). And in such circumstances, the question is: what actually constituted the day's order of this visit - a formal meeting of the Chinese ambassadors with representatives of the state structures of the All-Russian Empire or their informal communication with the leader of the international pietist sub-network is open?

And thirdly, the unequivocal hint of F. Prokopovich regarding the pietist network's primary missionary goal for China - the remark that Bayer's book will benefit those whom the bishop called "our Christians." It remains to be asked, who are "our Christians" in the author's context of the Lutheran author?...

In the first decades of the XVIII century at least four expeditions were organized through the territory of Muscovy, which were organized by the pietist network to the East. Feofan Prokopovich was directly involved in at least one of them: "At least four young scientists educated at the universities of Halle and Jena crossed the Russian Empire during the first decades of the eighteenth century: Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf traveled to Istanbul; Just Samuel Scharschmidt to Astrakhan; Gottlieb Schober to Kazan and Persia; and Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt to Siberia. The first two were traveling on behalf of Franke, who was interested in new trade routes, expanding his network, and ways to spread the Pietist mission. Ludolf was Franke's consultant on Russia. In 1697, Ludolf contacted Leibniz and taught a course in spoken Russian at the Franke Foundation in 1698. Scharschmidt, a pastor in Moscow and "Franke's first envoy in

[145] Chistovich I. Feofan Prokopovich and his time. - St. Petersburg: In the printing house of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1868. - P. 620.

Russia", maintained close ties with Novgorod Archbishop Feofan Prokopovich (1681–1736), one of Peter's main advisers in his last years.[146]

It is significant that Russian researchers, knowingly or not, do not notice the "eastern empire", demonstrating a complete lack of understanding of the intellectual contexts of the beginning. XVIII ct. Thus, in the traditional geopolitical picture of the world, D.I.N. Ageeva, who carried out a rather detailed historical reconstruction of the adoption of the imperial title by Peter I, there was only the Holy Roman Empire in the West and one empire in the East - the High Porte: "The highest political nomination in Europe at the turn of the XVII - XVIII centuries. small Holy Roman Empire, which united, or rather, regulated the relations of dozens of German states-principalities and cities, as well as kingdoms... in addition to the western Holy Roman Empire, there was also an empire in the east - the Ottoman Empire".[147] (Ageeva O.G. The title "emperor" and the concept of "empire" in Russia in the first quarter of the 18th century // World of history: Russian electronic journal. — 1999. — No. 5). As you can see, the Russian scientist, projecting modern images onto the mental map of the intellectual constructors of the Russian Empire, created a distorted "symmetrical" model of the symbolic imperial space of Eurasia at the beginning of the 18th century. (even with some skew to the west - the "quasi-empires" of the kingdoms of France and England): the Roman Empire of Europe was opposed by the Ottoman Empire of Asia. We do not even touch on the question that as a result of the Westphalian system of international treaties, the Swedish "quasi-empire" was formed on the mental map of Europe - a direct competitor and model for the constructors of the "quasi-empire" of Peter the Great. It is surprising that, quoting Kantemir's historiosophical views, according to which the first empire appeared precisely in the east and, from here, due to the fact and place of its birth, should have acquired extraordinary importance in the ideas about the empire as such, Ageeva does not draw any conclusions from this fact.

Such blindness regarding the Chinese context of the titulary and the status of Peter I and his self-proclaimed empire is striking, since one of the

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[146] Vermeulen H. F. Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment. Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology. - Lincoln/London, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2015. - P. 113.

[147] Ageeva O. G. The title “emperor” and the concept of “empire” in Russia in the first quarter of the 18th century // World of History: Russian electronic journal. - 1999. - No. 5.

representatives of the pietist network, the teacher of Tsarevich Oleksiy Petrovich Huysen, in his "advertising prospectus" of the new Muscovy, which was the first "scientific" description of the achievements of Peter Oleksiyovich, among the main evaluators considers the Chinese: "From everything that has been mentioned so far, it is absolutely clear that the tsar can be is easily numbered among the most praiseworthy regents of our time, for in the short time of his reign he made so many good laws for the development of the judiciary, and improved the police, and issued so many excellent ordinances and institutions concerning water and land in affairs of peace and war, for the better establishment of commerce, manufactures, and other arts and sciences, that in other respects he far surpasses all his illustrious ancestors. This praise resounds in the farthest and most distant lands: the Chinese, who have hitherto regarded all Europeans as one-eyed, and the rest of the world as blind, marvel at the active performance and manner of government of the Czars. All the impartial relations of their ministers describe this monarch as a true father of the country (Vatter des Vatterlandes), who allows prudence and justice to be the guide of his government."[148]

What intermediate conclusions-assumptions can be made from the above passage from 1710?

First of all, Huysen prescribed for the German-speaking readership, and therefore - counting mainly on the mass recipient of Luther's "Catechism", the image of Peter I as an ideal Christian monarch with the corresponding virtues and, in accordance with the Lutheran tradition, his highest honor as "Vatter des Vatterlandes" (in the German original).

Secondly: and F. Prokopovich (in 1709), and G. von Huysen (in 1710), almost simultaneously, targeting two types of audience - "internal" ("Slovene-speaking")[149] and "external" ("German-speaking") - promoted a

[148] Kemper D. The beginnings of foreign cultural politics in Russia. Part 3. Heinrich von Huyssen's European Network in the Service of the Foreign Cultural Policy under Peter the Great / New Philological Bulletin. - 2019. - No. 4 (51). - P. 128.

[149] Tsar Petro Oleksiiovych ordered F. Prokopovich to translate his speech ("Panegyric") on the Poltava victory into Latin. In this speech, the word "king" appeared almost every line, however, every time it was translated by the Kyiv thinker as "rex" (king). True, sometimes the word "imperator" is also used - but only as a synonym for "sovereign" (as such), and not to denote "Keiser". Just such an argument is presented by Julius Just to confirm that the dignity of "king" corresponds to the title of "king" in the European power hierarchy. However, we would like to draw attention to the exception that the Danish ambassador notices - that sometimes Feofan still used the title "Imperator". Next to the

change in the power status of the Moscow ruler, that is, they acted in concert within the framework of a common geopolitical strategy. Moreover, the highly paid Prussian "agitator" of the project of the new "Eastern Empire" of the "German nation" with a residence in St. Petersburg simultaneously with the title "Father of the Fatherland" also popularized the title "imperator" among Europeans[150] - 11 years before the "official" adoption of this power formula by Peter I.

What could unite the relatively little-known (in 1709) prefect of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and a valid member of the Berlin Academy (since 1710), the paid Moscow propagandist and tutor of the tsar's son Heinrich von Huysen - figures of different weight on the power chessboard - is probably their affiliation to the pietist intellectual network of H. Leibniz - A. Franke,[151] where, obviously, their joint propaganda gesture was approved[152]: "Huysen also acted as a mediator in the relationship between

naming of Peter I "Pater Patreae" (in the text of the 1709 Latin translation of the "Panegyric"), this dual use of the imperial title for the ruler of Muscovy looks like a careful attempt to change the geopolitical status of the Muscovite autocrat.

[150] In the edition of 1710 G. von Huysen's "Der Staat von Moscau" ("Moscow State") on the first page depicts Peter I in knightly armor with the signature "Petrus Alexiewiz Russorum Imperator".

[151] "According to the German historian Edward Winter, Prokopovich established personal relations with Halle as early as 1711. This connection was facilitated by the clergyman's friendship with a Saxon couple - General Ludwig Nikolaus Gallart and Magdalene Gallart - who were inspired friends of the Halle pietists. General Gallart became closely acquainted with Prokopovich in Kyiv during his stay in Ukraine after the Battle of Poltava (1709). It seems that the general considered this friendship important enough to inform his spiritual mentors in Halle about it, since there is evidence in the archives of the Franke Foundation that testify to this relationship" (cited by: Collis R. The Petrine instauration: religion, esotericism and science at the court of Peter the Great, 1689–1725. - Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012. - P. 343).

[152] As one of the best researchers of his political biography S. writes about the participation of Heinrich von Huysen in the pietist intellectual network. G. Korzun (Stuttgart): "One of the most interesting spheres of Huysen's activity is mediation between Russia and Germany in matters of religion. German Protestants were interested in expanding the boundaries of their influence and tried to take advantage of the freedom of religion promised to foreigners in Russia. Pietists - representatives of the religious trend in Lutheranism - planned to go beyond the scope of spreading their influence only on the German diaspora living in Russia, and to influence the Russian population as well. August Hermann Franke (1663–1727), a professor of theology and founder of numerous charitable and educational institutions in the German city of Halle, showed great interest in Russia. There in the so-called Orphanage, which served as the center of all other Pietist

Franke and Feofan Prokopovich. He sent the works of this companion of Peter I to Halle, for example, his eulogy on the occasion of the Poltava victory in 1709. The sermon was printed in Latin in 1709. in Kyiv and in 1711 in Leipzig. One copy of the edition printed in Leipzig, which belonged to Huysen, got first to Thomas Consett, chaplain of the English factory in Russia, and to Franke in Halle. From Huysen's letter to Consett dated September 12, 1728. it is obvious that Feofan Prokopovich, who was called "our friend and common patron", was in close contact with foreign Protestants."[153]

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institutions. It published works related to Russia. Pietists acted through their countrymen who lived in Russia. priests, one of whom was Huysen. Ernst Gluck (1654 - 1705), a German Lutheran pastor who ran a gymnasium in Moscow, 1704. informed Franke that Huysen had become the tutor of Tsarevich Oleksii. In turn, Huyssen cooperated with German teachers from Glück's gymnasium" (Korzun S.G. Henry Huyssen and the struggle of Protestants and Catholics for influence on the Russian Orthodox Church in the era of early Enlightenment // Slavic almanac: 2011. - M.: Iz-vo "Indrik", 2012. - S. 54 - 55). Something should be added here, based on the formal and informal "roles" of Pastor Glück and Huysen in the space of Muscovite power-dynastic ties and their positions within Halle's intellectual field. It seems that one representative of the Pietist network (Pastor Glyuk, who was the stepfather and tutor of the future Empress Catherine I) reported to the "center" that another representative of the network began to take spiritual care of the heir to the Russian throne - Oleksiy Petrovich. We will also remind that it was G. von Huysen acted as a "Prussian liaison" within the Pietist network - with the task of connecting the king and his entourage with the "Berlin center". It was he who organized the much-needed G. Leibniz met with Peter I in Torgau (1710) for which, among other things, he received from the mathematician the status of a valid member of the Academy of Sciences organized by Leibniz in Berlin.

[153] Korzun S. G. Heinrich Huyssen and the struggle of Protestants and Catholics for influence on the Russian Orthodox Church in the era of the early Enlightenment // Slavic almanac: 2011. - M.: Iz-vo "Indrik", 2012. - S. 56. See the same quote in another text - the German-language monograph by S. Korzun: Korzun S. Heinrich von Huyssen (1666–1739) Prinzenerzieher, Diplomat und Publizist in den Diensten Zar Peters I., des Großen. - Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, 2013. - S. 195). Regarding the connections of F. Prokopovich with the German Protestant network abroad, then we also agree with this remark of S. Korzun: "Protestant authors of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation spoke on the side of Prokopovich, in particular, such outstanding personalities as Daniel Ernst Jablonsky, Georg Bernhard Bilfinger and Johann Lorenz von Mosheim. One of the supporters of the scholar Feofan Prokopovich was Heinrich von Huyssen, a representative of a respectable Protestant noble family from Essen" (Korzun S. Heinrich von Huyssen (1666 – 1739) Prinzenerzieher, Diplomat und Publizist in den Diensten Zar Peters I., des Großen. - Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, 2013. - S. 3).

The propaganda activity of the "pietist network" to change the unattractive image of Muscovy to a respectable image of a modern state led by an educated "emperor" was jealously monitored in Rome: in 1712, the Catholic "party" used "heavy artillery" by painting its own positive portrait of the Moscow "emperor". It was then that the leading jurist of the Apennine Peninsula, who was close to the papal throne - a former teacher of civil and canon law at the University of Rome and part-time poet Giovanni Vincenzo Gravini (1664 - 1718) published the text "Pro Romanis legibus. Ad magnum Moschorum Imperatorem" ("According to Roman laws. To the Great Emperor of Muscovy").[154]

This text, consisting of a spicy mixture of flattery to the Moscow ruler and the temptation to legalize his "imperial" status from the Pope, dissolved in the uncertainty of the genre: it looked like a eulogy to Peter I with elements of a historical and legal treatise. In the text, the Moscow autocrat was revered as "great" ("magnum") and titled as "emperor" ("Imperator"), who builds an ideal "great empire".[155] However, in this titular formula of the Apennine lawyer, one element that was used by pietists when titling Pyotr Oleksiiovych was carefully avoided: let us recall that in the Catholic legal and theological field, the designation "Father of the Fatherland" was reliably fixed after the high priest of Rome, and it is not surprising that J. Gravina speaks of the powerful Muscovite Empire headed by its emperor, but never uses the "proper" connection "Pater Patria" for it.

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[154] The Orations of John Vincentius Gravina J. C. and Antecessor Romanus Naples at de Bonis archiepiscopal printer with the permission of the superiors 1712, p. 223 - 272; Orations and pamphlets of J. V. Gravina, jurist and Roman predecessor, the series of which can be seen after the preface. They crossed to the Rhine, at William's ford Water. Acad. typogr. 1813

[155] Some attention to the title "imperator" in relation to the figure of Peter I in the text of J. Graviny was discussed in the article: Rossius A. AND. The title of Peter I in Gianvincenzo Gravina's speech "In defense of Roman laws" (Pro Romanis legibus) // Russia - Italy: cultural and religious ties in the XVII - XX centuries / Otv. ed. M. Talalai. - S.-Pb.: Aleteia, 2014. - C. 92 - 96. However, despite the loud and pretentious title, the article in no way analyzes the functioning of the formula of the title of the Moscow ruler in the text of J. Graviny, however, does not pay attention to the intertextual space of the work of the Italian lawyer - his involvement in the confrontation between the "Catholic" and "Protestant" camps. The main attention of A. Rossius dedicated to the discrepancy in the names - the title of the manuscript J. Gravina and the first (Neapolitan) edition of 1712.

J. Gravina offered Peter I his own conceptual view of successful empire building based on the example of the Roman Empire. This politico-legal concept of the Italian can be called the "theory of a good stomach": "The Romans, in order to preserve the empire they won in fair battles ... and to preserve it forever, ruled not so much for their own sake as for the sake of other peoples ... and truth, and laws, and judges, and language, and government, and, finally, the country itself, had to be common to every human race. Therefore, just like different types of food, the ingredients of a strong stomach are transformed into healthy fluids to support the whole body; and thus the different talents of different places and nations, under this heaven and under that institution, adapted to civil and military affairs, and as it were flattened by our examples, were transferred to Roman manners for the government of the world. And thus, through this community of civil life and divine law, they merged the society of all nations, so that everything that the eyes could see was Roman, and people received citizenship not only from the Latins, but from the profession, customs and laws of the Romans.[156]

So, on the one hand, the empire must satisfy the interests (through laws, language, judges, governments...) of all the peoples that are part of it.[157] On the other hand, the talents of each nation are juices for the

[156] John Vincent Gravina. JCti & aOrations and pamphlets of the predecessor of Rome. The sequence of which is seen after the preface. Traecti ad Rhenum, Apud William vande Water, 1713. - P. 96.

[157] The problem of the number of "nations" or "provinces" in the composition of the All-Russian Empire in the first half of the XVIII c. or the topic of its administrative division remains out of the attention of Ukrainian historiography. Yes, Voltaire's "History of Peter the Great" - "paid official bard of the Russian state" - had a semi-official character, was written by order of Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (see: Raeff M. Historische Einführung: Legenden und Vorurteile Deutsche und Deutschland aus russischer Sicht. 18. Jahrhundert: Aufklärung, hg. v. D. Herrmann, München 1992 (West-östliche Spiegelungen, hg. v. L. Kopelew, Reihe B, Bd. 2). - S. 72). According to Voltaire, the Russian Empire consists of 16 provinces: "We used to call Russia Muscovy from the city of Moscow, the capital of this empire and the residence of the grand dukes, but now the ancient name of Rus prevails... Now this empire is divided into sixteen great governments... These sixteen governments, which contain several huge provinces... Petersburg is considered the capital of Ingria, a small province conquered by Peter I... On south of the province of Smolensk we meet the province of Kiev, otherwise called Little Russia, Red Russia or Ukraine... Kiev, the capital, formerly Kisov, was built by the emperors of Constantinople, who made it a colony... The inhabitants of Ukraine, who are called Cossacks, are a mixture of ancient Roksolans, Sarmatians and Tatars, mixed together" (Voltaire. The History of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia. - Delphi Classics, 2017). In the time of F. Prokopovich, it was

digestion and functioning of the common body of the empire. This joint body constitutes the ideal Roman law, which must be adopted in Muscovy.

The purpose of this treatise was to prevent the construction of a new empire on the Protestant model and to subordinate the Orthodox Church of Muscovy to Rome. In 1717, this project of uniting the Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches was thwarted, and, in fact, this year became a kind of bifurcation point: the Pietist plan to rebuild the state and the church on the Swedish-Prussian model celebrated its final victory in 1721[158]. And it is no coincidence that the first countries that immediately recognized the emergence of the All-Russian Empire were its real creator - the Kingdom of Prussia.[159]

The Roman religious "party", however, did not immediately admit its defeat, appealing to the topic of the questionable legitimacy of the imperial status of the Moscow autocrat in the geopolitical context of Catholic countries. And that's why even after the death of Peter I, attempts

believed that the All-Russian Empire consisted of more than 30 provinces - former independent states: "This is where banners with provincial coats of arms were carried (which provinces were previously their own states or principalities)... It was quite evil to look at this, because more than thirty provinces are represented by banners..." (Prokopovich F. Short story about death Petra. - St. Petersburg: Type. Glazunova, 1831. - P. 29 - 30). states that during the time of Peter I, the empire initially consisted of 8 provinces, and later was divided into 50: "In 1719, Peter divided eight large provinces into fifty smaller ones, outlining the duties of each official according to the Swedish model, with a provincial governor who was supported by accountants, bursars, prosecutors and commissioners" (Bushkovitch P. Peter the Great. - Boulder, N.-Y., Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001. - P. 151).

[158] "There are reasons to believe that it was Huysen who stood up for the Protestants, after in 1717 the Jansenists from the Sorbonne in Paris proposed to Peter I the unification of the Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches. Although this idea was rejected by the tsar in the form of a written reply by Feofan Prokopovich, the German Protestants considered it is necessary to correct the huge idea against the Catholics" (Korzun S. G. Heinrich Huyssen and the struggle of Protestants and Catholics for influence on the Russian Orthodox Church in the era of the early Enlightenment // Slavic almanac: 2011. - M.: Indrik, 2012. - C. 56).

[159] "...as you know, the Russian tsars decided to call themselves emperors only after the end of the Northern War of 1700-1721. and signing in 1721 Nystadt peace treaty, and even after these victorious events, other states, with the exception of Prussia and Holland, were in no hurry to recognize the legitimacy of the new title of the Russian rulers (Sweden in 1723, Turkey in 1739, Great Britain and 1742, etc.)" (Rossius A.A. The title of Peter I in the speech of Gianvincenzo Gravina "In Defense of Roman Laws" (Pro Romanis legibus) // Russia-Italy: cultural and religious relations in the XVII - XX centuries / Edited by M. Talalai. - Pb. - C. 92.

to "reformat" the situation were renewed at the diplomatic level, offering the pretenders to the throne of Russia legitimization of their imperial status from the side of Rome. It seems indicative that the "Catholic (Papist)" party in Moscow politics offered the Romanovs the title "Emperor of the East". Yes, in the 30s. XVIII ct. "The minister-missionary (the Spanish envoy Duke Liria) together with the abbot Jubet (Sorbonne) wanted to assure Vasyl Lukich Dolgorukov that with his assistance in the cause conceived [by them...] he would gain the respect of the Spanish and French kings and grant the Russian sovereign the title of Eastern Emperor..."[160] Therefore, the recognition of the imperial title by the ruler of Russia was an effective tool of geopolitical influence on the internal political schedules of the country on the part of various religiously colored unions of European states.

It should be noted that in the political and legal sense, the "Catholic party" could consider this victory of Pietist opponents in Muscovy not as an advantage of the Lutheran concept of building a new "Eastern" empire, but as the embodiment of the principles of Confucian ethics in Muscovy.[161] And the grounds for such an interpretation were given to them by the Lutherans themselves, for example, one of the iconic "liaisons" of the pietist network in the Moscow kingdom - H. Von Huysen, who argued that only the Chinese perspective, the Chinese vision, claims - and his German-speaking readers should be aware of this - to properly appreciate the deeds of the "ideal ruler" of the empire. So, even the Chinese, precisely the Chinese - these true bearers of wisdom regarding the one who has the honor of bearing the title "Father of the Motherland" - those who in practice embodied the ideal of the most powerful empire of our time - they

[160] Chistovich I. Reshilovskoe case. Feofan Prokopovich and Feofilakt Lopatinsky. Materials for the history of the first half of the eighteenth century. - St. Petersburg: in type. spirit. magazine "Wanderer", 1861. - P. 8.

[161] In the German-language literature of the beginning of the 18th century, for example, in the text "Relation" (1706), which is attributed to Christian Stieff, Peter's state-building actions were considered in the context of following Confucian principles: "Here we are talking about the "Relation", which is attributed to Christian Stieff from 1706], and this was also true in the case of the Chinese, who by that time "they considered Europeans one-eyed, and the rest of the world blind" [Huyssen 1706, 2], but now they could recognize the teachings of Confucius in the state principles of Peter I" (Kemper D. The beginnings of foreign cultural politics in Russia. Part 2. Heinrich von Huyssen's as a Manager of Foreign Cultural Policy in the Great Nordic War // Novy filologicheskiy vestnik. - 2019. - No. 1 (48). - P. 76).

should recognize the ruler of Muscovy as the highest imperial dignity. And it is for the Chinese (not to mention the failed builders from Europe) that it is obvious that the "Father of the Motherland" of Muscovy fits perfectly into the "gold standard" of the rule of the ideal emperor - the Chinese emperor.

However, why, in the case of this proposed titular formula for naming the ruler, does the German intellectual-propagandist of the new Muscovy openly appeal not to the Lutheran dogmatics organic to him, but to the Chinese tradition of power and where the pietist circle of M. Could Halle have known about this tradition?

As the modern leading researcher of the intellectual biography of Heinrich von Huysen - S. Korzun: "If they say that Peter I governed his country according to the teachings of Confucius, then this statement was made even before the beginning of the most important reforms in Russia. By that time, Huysen already knew how Peter I was evaluated in Beijing."[162]

The answer to this question remains suspended for the type of researchers who continue to look at the construction of the All-Russian Empire project with one "European eye" - as an act of "Westernization", while with a frank look at it, an enlightened "Chinese utopia" rises before us, which was built by a united "Prussian-Little Russian" pietist intellectual network on the territory of Muscovy.

In the same year 1721, when not without the influence of one of the graduates of the university of Halle - the former rector of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy F. Prokopovich - the Moscow Tsar Peter I was proclaimed "Father of the Motherland", the then rector of the University of Halle, a former student of G. Leibniz and the future teacher M. Lomonosov - Christian Wolff - read his programmed public lecture in Latin, which was devoted to the rationality of Confucian ethics and the philosophy of the Chinese. With this lecture before the general assembly of students and teachers of the university, he ritually completed his two-year term of office. In the speech, the philosopher "...argued that since China was a moral society without knowledge of Scripture or a divine Creator, he demonstrated that reason is a sufficient basis for ethics".[163]

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[162] Korzun S. Heinrich von Huyssen (1666 – 1739) prince educator, diplomat and publicist in the service of Tsar Peter I the Great. - Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, 2013. - P. 50.

And further, combining the symbolic space of Europe and Asia, the political philosophy of Plato and Confucius, he claimed "... that the sophisticated practical philosophy of China and its application to the structure of the state made it possible to realize Plato's ideal philosopher-kings".[164]

Thus, according to the rector of the University of Halle, that model of government and the image of the ideal ruler, which was developed at the theoretical level in the space of Western Hellenistic culture, received the best realization in the East - in the territory of imperial China[165]. Wolff's position, which outlined the connection between Confucianism and Christianity, caused him to be accused of "atheism." Instead, Feofan Prokopovich "...when Peter began to rely more on the ideas of Christian Wolff, he refuted the accusation that Wolff was an atheist"[166].

At the moment when protégé G. Leibniz proclaimed his "Confucian speech", the familiarity of educated Europeans with Confucian philosophy spanned more than 30 years: the countdown can obviously begin with the year 1687, in which the famous work of Philip Couplet (Ph. Couplet) "Confucius Sinarum Philosophus" ("Confucius the Philosopher of China") was published.[167]

So, the idea of G. Leibniz on the ideal Chinese state system and ideal Chinese reached its climax in the speech of his best student, and Christian Wolff's "lecture on Chinese ethics [became] an event within the

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[163] The Radical Enlightenment in Germany: A Cultural Perspective // Ed. by Carl Niekerk . - Leiden; Boston: Brill-Rodopi, 2018. - P. 113. In this collective monograph, a separate section ("Chinese Ethics in the Radical Enlightenment: Christian Wolf") is devoted to the influence of Chinese philosophy on the so-called "radical enlightenment" of the German lands, in fact - on the pietist intellectual network in the context of the rational philosophy of H. Leibniz and his outstanding student - H. Wolf

[164] Fuchs T, European China-Receptions from Leibniz to Kant // Journal of Chinese Philosophy. - 2006. - № 33. - P. 43.

[165] Here, at H. Wolff, we can notice the same narrative logic that unfolded the image of the symbolic imperial space of Eurasia in F. Prokopovich: the theory of the empire of the West was embodied in practice in the empires of the East.

[166] Rieber A.J. Politics and Technology in Eighteenth - Century Russia // Science in Context. - 1995. - № 8 (2). - P. 353.

[167] Li Wenchao, Poser H. Leibniz's positive view of China // Journal of Chinese Philosophy. - 2006/ - № 33 (1). - P. 17.

framework of the radical Enlightenment.[168] It is significant that Wolff's views were not formulated in 1721: his "...the claim was implicit in Wolff's earlier work, but the fact that he presented it at such a solemn occasion made the argument seem like a challenge to the pietists who helped build the university's reputation."[169]

Such a "challenge to pietists" from the "mathematicians" of the University of Halle accepted the successor of H. Wolf in the rector's position, the representative of the theological faculty - Lange.[170] This challenge seemed very irritating to the leading Lutheran theologians of the university, because, by all indications, it looked like an "internal sabotage" in the very heart of the "pietist network" - a radical logical continuation at the beginning of the XVIII century of the "Chinaphile" theology of the XVII ct., developed in the sense space of the "competitors" - the Society of Jesus: such Jesuit missionaries in China as "Alvaro Semedo (1586 – 1658), Gabriel de Magallance (1610 – 77) and Martino Martini (1614 – 61)... considered Confucianism to be an ethical complement to Christianity. This view included the assumption that the earliest forms of Confucianism relied on innate knowledge."[171]

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[168] The Radical Enlightenment in Germany: A Cultural Perspective // Ed. by Carl Niekerk . - Leiden; Boston: Brill-Rodopi, 2018 . - P. 113.

[169] Ibid.

[170] "From the beginning of the eighteenth century, Halle became the center of both pietism and the Enlightenment in German-speaking Europe. Franke's Anstalten (German institution) and the predominantly Pietist theological faculty at the university shaped Halle from the 1690s. Halle also became one of the centers of the German Enlightenment when Christian Wolff joined the university faculty in 1706. Thanks to a number of common assumptions and a common adversary in Lutheran orthodoxy, these two camps coexisted without significant conflict for more than a decade. By the 1720s, however, the interaction between Wolff's philosophy and Pietist theology had increasingly turned into a struggle between two self-sufficient metaphysical models, Vernunfterkenntis (German for "rational knowledge") versus Glaubensgewifheit (German for "certainty of faith"). In 1723, the quarrel reached a turning point, which was caused by a letter from the pietist theologian Joachim Lange and when Friedrich Wilhelm I expelled Wolff from Brandenburg-Prussia" (Roberts F. C. German Pietism and the Genesis of Literary Aesthetics: The Discourse of Erfahrung in the 1700s // Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte. - 2004. - No. 78 (2). - P. 224).

[171] Fuchs T, European China-Receptions from Leibniz to Kant // Journal of Chinese Philosophy. - 2006. - No. 33. - P. 38. Polemics against the "Chinese allusions" of H. Wolf's philosophy by theologians of Halle in 1722-1723 was preceded by a polemic between Lutherans and Jesuits, which unfolded in 1710.

The same information about China from the Jesuits at the beginning of the XVIII century. was thrown into the public space of Muscovy, which testified to the considerable interest of the ruling circles of the state in the situation in the Celestial Empire: "On December 17, 1702, he [Peter I] issued a decree on the publication of a newspaper. All government departments were supposed to send items of interest to the monastery office, which forwarded them to the printer. Three weeks later, the first issue was published under the title "Herald of military and other affairs that took place in the Moscow State and in neighboring countries and that deserved attention and memory." This issue reported on the victories in Ingria and Livonia and the number of cannons cast in Moscow. It stated that "by order of his majesty, Moscow schools are increasing, and forty-five students are studying philosophy, having already completed dialectics. More than three hundred are studying in the navigation and mathematics school..." The newspaper also printed the number of male and female children born in Moscow, and reported that the Jesuits fell out of favor in China because of their tricks."[172]

Although, we can note that disagreements between "mathematicians" and "theologians" of the institution of Halle regarding the "Chinese question" at least between their leaders - G. Leibniz and A. Franke - appear exaggerated, if not far-fetched: "August Franke so admired Leibniz's New Sinica that the two men corresponded in the 1690s about the possibility of Halle sending missionaries east through Russia, establishing schools and churches along the way to reach China." Franke and Leibniz had a polite exchange of views, despite their obvious religious differences, mainly because both were very interested in the establishment of Protestant missions in China."[173]

So, we can state that a few months before Peter I was given the title of "Father of the Fatherland" and "Emperor" quite spontaneously in the summer of 1721 in the university center of pietism of the Prussian Kingdom between its "mathematical" (rationalist) and "theological" (mystical) branches, an ardent discussion about the universal significance of Confucian ethics for the countries of Christendom unfolded.

For 1721 - 1722 the peak of Peter I's active correspondence with representatives of the "mathematical" wing of the center of the Prussian

[172] Grey I. Peter the Great. - New World City, 2015.

[173] The radical enlightenment in Germany : a cultural perspective / Ed. by Carl Niekerk. - Leiden; Boston: Brill-Rodopi, 2018. - P. 125 - 126.

Pietist intellectual network: "By the end of his reign, Peter, although he was still inspired mainly by the practice of specific goals, understood the wider appeal of science and the recognition of its patrons. The Academy of Sciences is generally considered the pinnacle of its educational program. The impulses behind it were both internal (the inability of existing institutions to produce top administrators) and external (the need to civilize Russia in the eyes of the population and the world). Peter was strongly influenced by the ideas of Leibniz, discussions with French scientists during his visit to the Academy of Sciences in 1717, and later by Christian Wolf (professor of philosophy and physics at Halle), who corresponded with Laurentius Blumentrost[174], the future president of the new academy. Petro decided to ignore Wolff's advice to start at the university"[175].

So, at the moment when the philosopher from the center of Halle (H. Wolff) on the basis of his own interest in the political ethics of China took care of the promotion of an educational network on the territory of Russia, its religious representative from the immediate entourage of Peter I (F. Prokopovich) promoted the new title of the Moscow ruler and completed the Orthodox "spiritual regulation", the political philosophy of which was reduced to honoring the "Father of the Motherland" as a fulfillment of the 5th commandment of the "Decade".

We have to ask, could one of the active and influential agents of the pietist network outside its borders - in Muscovy - remain outside of this current discussion around Confucian philosophy and the image of an ideal ruler (the emperor of China) associated with it? It would be better to ask, how could the echo of this discussion, in which the image of the ideal emperor of the East was reflected, pass by Feofan Prokopovich's construction of the model of the new Protestant emperor of the West?

It is a well-known fact that immediately after the scandal in Halle, Christian Wolff was invited to the newly established St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Moreover, F. Prokopovich: "In 1723, Professor Christian Wolff was invited to the Academy. In Germany, specifically in Halle, there was a party hostile to him, headed by the famous pietist

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[174] Lavrentiy Lavrentiyovich Blumentrost is the first president of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, although he was born in Moscow, but, like everyone involved in the network of the university, Halle had to undergo initial initiation at this institution (after continuing his studies at Oxford and defending his thesis at Leiden).

[175] Hughes L. Russia in the Age of Peter the Great. - New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998. - P. 307.

Franke)... it [the party] wanted to harm his transition to the... Academy and hoped to achieve this by representing Wolf before the Russian clergy as an atheist. The Academy hastened to reassure Wolff, assuring him that the main representative of the local clergy, Feofan - Bishop of Pskov, had the best opinion of him."[176]

So, graduates of the University of Halle - Feofan Prokopovich and Lavrentiy Blumentrost - were well aware of the situation of the "intellectual split" that developed as a result of the "Chinese lecture" of H. Wolf in the center of the network and were ready to support one of the "parties" - Leibniz-Wolf's party. Another "party of the center" - Franke-Lange, could obviously harm these plans: "G. Blumentrost - wrote to Wolff Schumacher on May 5, 1724 - informed me of your grace's letter of March 1, from which, seeing the unjust act against you pietists, I am saddened the more the more convinced that this accusation is nothing but a brutal slander... and therefore your grace can be sure that if A. Franke will make an attempt to appeal to the local clergy, who are now with special zeal trying to bring religion to a reasonable state and free it from all superstitions, he will be received very badly, especially at such a time, when his credit, obtained earlier through known tricks, is ready to fall here, and the shrewd learning and rational principles of your grace are in the highest respect among the local clergy... When our all-merciful Sovereign allowed to read your grace's dedication in a famous assembly, and commended you and bid you come hither, the clergy thereupon openly expressed their pleasure; and that it did so... out of a good desire, this is known from the fact that the bishop of Pskov, a learned and very intelligent man, to whom we are indebted for a large number of good orders in the Synod and for the spiritual Regulation, repeatedly spoke of your grace in a private way with great respect, and as a lover of physical experiments, he desires your presence and guidance.[177].

On this example, you can see the mechanisms of how communication between the Prussian metropolis and its St. Petersburg branch took place. The first thing to pay attention to is that serious fluctuations in the intellectual center immediately cause a reaction from the periphery: religious, ideological, scientific "challenges" in Halle receive

[176] Chistovich I. Feofan Prokopovich and his time. - St. Petersburg: In the printing house of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1868. - P. 617.

[177] Chistovich I. Feofan Prokopovich and his time. - St. Petersburg: In the printing house of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1868. - P. 617 - 618.

their Russian "answer" right there - through "postman mediators" integrated into the highest structures of the "Russian" religious, educational and political space.

Thus, the last letter addressed by Wolf to Blumentrost, acting as a "postman", passes (reads) to Schumacher, who, in turn, replies to Wolf to Blumentrost's letter. The communication circle has closed. This circular communicative act, initiated by the "center", was formally supposed to solve one problem - personnel. Having lost a high academic position in the center (Halle), one of the ideologues of the network (Wolf) goes "downgrade" - tries to get a high status on the Prussian periphery - in St. Petersburg.

This problem was to be solved by a graduate of Halle Blumentrost, the personal physician of Peter I, i.e., the figure to whom the monarch trusted most dearly - his health. At the same time, he was the first president of the future St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, i.e., responsible for staffing "Russian" science. The president of the St. Petersburg Academy in this network hierarchy is a subordinate figure - and not only and not so much to the "All-Russian Emperor"... We are talking about a large number of informal obligations within the network...

First, the relationship of Blumentrost-Wolf is the relationship of a former student of Halle University to a former rector.

Secondly, Blumentrost as an executor is the one who implements Leibniz's network project (he headed the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg) in relation to his spiritual heir - Wolff.

And it is precisely in such a hierarchical communication field that the figure of Feofan Prokopovich appears - the "ideologist" and "spiritual leader" of the St. Petersburg Pietist sub-network.

It is to him that a certain community (in the letter - a certain "we", which obviously includes Blumentrost, Schumacher, Wolf and, potentially, other members of the Prussian intellectual network) owes something. Probably, it was in their common interests that the bishop of Pskov established "good order" in the Synod, i.e., the organization of the Orthodox Church rebuilt in the Lutheran way. Here we can also add the "Catechism" - composed entirely in the "Lutheran spirit" (as the Prussian ambassador noted). It is significant that F. Prokopovich fully recognizes the hierarchy and his own subordination within the intellectual network - he "spoke with respect" about Wolff and wishes for his "presence and leadership".

How could the politics of the subnet be at odds with the ideology of the center, since Wolff had lost his own administrative and academic influence in Prussia (Halle)? The answer was that the administrative resource (influence over the "emperor" of St. Petersburg) was in the hands of Leibniz's followers. Instead, the shares of the religious wing of the Prussian Pietists ("credit obtained earlier through known tricks") - Franke's "party" at the St. Petersburg court - fell. The intellectual and spiritual space of the All-Russian Empire was completely controlled by the followers of Leibniz (religious by F. Prokopovich; academic by Blumentrost).

At least one thing can be said for sure: this discussion in the "center" of the network served as a significant intellectual context on the eve of the final decision-making by the synodal circle of the Moscow kingdom regarding the new titulary of the Moscow autocrat.

Our hypothesis is that the title "Father of the Motherland" was constructed by the pietist network through its representatives - F. Prokopovich and his entourage - for the German ruling house in St. Petersburg. This title, intended for an ideal ruler, was based on 2 traditions: Lutheran and Confucian. This quasi-Confucian model was integrated into "Catechism" by F. Prokopovich in 1721. We also assume that the "ideal type" for the Ukrainian intellectual to develop a hierarchical classification, which distinguished the 7th "ranks of fatherhood" and revealed the 5th commandment of the law of Moses in the Orthodox creed of F. Prokopovich advocated the basic principle of organization of the state and society in Confucian ethics - the principle of "filial honor" ("xiao"). Thus, Confucian ethics, integrated through the apparently Christian religious legitimation of the main title of the "emperor" of the newly created "empire" - "Father of the Motherland" - was supposed to guarantee this modern "quasi-European" empire the same internal stability,[178] which she guaranteed to the eternal "ideal empire" - China,[179] which was demonstrated by this Asian monarchy during the reign of a contemporary of Peter I - Emperor Kangxi.

"In their Christian sermons and writings, missionaries tried to emphasize similarities with traditional Confucian thinking and to build an alliance with Confucianism against Buddhism. But... the Christian concept of the equality of all

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[178] "Already in 1667, Athanasius Kircher wrote in his description of China that... since the Chinese are focused on ethics and politics, their empire has exemplary stability and political order..." (Fuchs T, European China-Receptions from Leibniz to Kant // Journal of Chinese Philosophy. - 2006. - No. 33. - P. 42).

[179] "...in the Age of Enlightenment, as a result of the search for emancipation from tradition, China became a normative model in itself. For Europeans, China served as a tool for interpreting religious customs, political system and social order on their own continent." (Fuchs T, European China-Receptions from Leibniz to Kant // Journal of Chinese Philosophy. - 2006. - № 33. - P. 36).

people aroused special suspicion among many conservative Chinese, for whom any relationship in the family or society was vertically structured according to Confucian principles. A decisive factor in the rise and fall of Christianity in China was the so-called "controversy over rites" over the missionaries' attitude toward Chinese ancestral rites. The Jesuits allowed members of their Catholic congregations to continue the practice of honoring ancestors in their homes. The Franciscan and Dominican missionaries who later joined them recognized this as idolatry and reported it to Rome. Through the intervention of an Italian Jesuit, Pope Alexander VII permitted Chinese rites in 1654. But the quarrel continued, and in 1704 the practice of honoring ancestors among Chinese Christians was banned by Pope Clement XI. The Chinese Emperor Kangxi, who had up to that time supported Christianity... reacted by issuing a decree that allowed missionary work only to those missionaries who were willing to sign a declaration in favor of the Chinese rites. In 1723, almost all foreign missionaries were forbidden to visit China. The Chinese Catholic Church, which at its peak numbered 300,000 members, was reduced to a marginal state.[180]

At least two points are significant here:

First, the program "Confucian lecture" by Kh. Wolff and his dismissal from the University of Halle was proclaimed at a time when the prospects of adapting Confucianism to Christianity were finally defeated and Christian missionary activity in China was prohibited. Against this background, the usual university academic conflict can appear as "geopolitical": a German intellectual continues to promote Confucian ethical norms just as the Pope opposes them.

Secondly, the proclamation in this context of the All-Russian Empire led by the "Father of the Fatherland" and a successful attempt through the "Catechism" of F. Prokopovich to adapt the hierarchical orthodox Christian model to Lutheran dogmas looks like a symbolic compensation of the Pietist-Jesuit strategy against the background of failures in China.

In other words, the pietists tried to realize what they failed to do in China - to construct a project of an ideal "empire" that would adapt the local religious norms of idolatry to the requirements of the Lutheran religious ideology. True, the local specificity of "idolatry" from the point of view of Pietist (Lutheran) dogmatics was the veneration of icons and worship of holy relics. Ukrainian pietists led by F. Prokopovich successfully adapted these local "superstitions", limiting such practices, but not banning them completely.

[180] Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India (Vol. I - III) / Ed. by Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, Heike Liebau. - Halle: Franckesche Stifhingen, 2006. - P. 45 - 46.

## § 4 The "external" creation of the "man of the empire" according to the commandments of F. Prokopovich

Designed by F. Prokopovich and approved by the authority of the Orthodox Church as its official dogma, the hierarchical system of patriarchal power — the order of 7 descending ranks of fatherhood, which developed either Lutheran or Confucian "theology" turned the "5th commandment" of Moses (honoring the natural father and mother) into something different — into an instruction to obey the symbolic "Father of the Fatherland".

At the same time, the natural biological father found himself in the shadows - up to the third hierarchical position of "father ranks", which in the future could create a conflict between the will of the father of the family and the orders of the symbolic father of the state - the emperor. The possible confrontation between genealogy and politics in this ideological construction was resolved by the Kyiv intellectual Bezbatchenko Tseresky quite logically for him - in favor of the "ideal father": "Question: Сумнительно есть: что делать когда един от чина отеческого повелевает нечто, а другой то есть прещает? If one of them is a slave to the other, listen more. For example, if you are ordered by something... your parent, which is not ordered by the governing civil rank, listen to this, and not... your parent; and when the civilian ruler commands what the king forbids, do not listen to the ruler, but to the king".[181]

"The first teaching of youth" F. Prokopovich, in the name of God, legitimized such a didactic model of the formation of individual behavior of a Christian-citizen, which required the obligatory sacrifice of real family ties on the altar of symbolic-political ties, the exchange of a real father for the "Father of the Fatherland". Considering the total implementation of the denunciation system during the reign of Peter I, the "Christian" system of F. Prokopovich instilled in children - future loyal citizens of the empire - what we call the "Pavlik Morozov complex".

“And that murderer is there... There are duels, fist fights, betrayals, riots, unjust wars...”.[182] As we can see, Feofan Prokopovich in his own "Catechism", completely according to the European tradition, divided wars

[181] Prokopovich F. First teaching as a youth. It contains letters and syllables. - K.: Kiev-Pechersk Lavra, 1753. - P. 25 (ke).

into "just" and "unjust". The latter are sinful - a violation of the commandment "do not kill" (next to "rebellions and betrayals").

It is obvious that only participation in "just wars" can provide an "alibi" for a soldier as a Christian and is not considered a deliberate "murder". And, probably, the main test for a Christian who is going to take up arms is to make sure whether he is not participating in murder - an "unjust war", that is, whether he is a murderer - a commandment breaker - a key question when an immortal soul is at stake.

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[182] Prokopovich F. The first teaching as a youth. It has letters and syllables. - K.: Kievo-Pecherskaya Lavra, 1753. - C. 26. It is interesting that Feofan included in the commandment "do not kill" - "fist fights" and "duels" - a religious prohibition of two traditions of defending personal honor at the same time ("European" and "Muscovite"). The cultural and political context of this commandment was the personal position of the "ideal ruler" - Peter I. And this position was ambivalent and incomprehensible to the Europeans: "Petro faced the dilemma of Europeanization: he wanted his officers and nobles to always carry a saber, but not to use it... He allowed Herr Johann von Patkul to duel with Lieutenant General Ott von Kornberg - on the condition that no pistols would be used, only fists and sticks. In 1703, Peter set an example by executing two foreigners who, while in a state of alcoholic intoxication, had killed other people. It was from this execution that the Swedish propagandist Martin Neugebauer tried to create a scandal. His pamphlet, which aimed to prevent German officers from entering Russia, contained two main accusations against the Tsar: firstly, Tsar Peter physically abused foreign officers, and secondly, he criminalized their practice of dueling. Both express the barbarism of the Russians, both mean an attempt on the honor of a European nobleman... From the point of view of the European aristocracy... corporal punishment was considered a slander, it was "worse than death"" (von Erren L. "Tödlicher Jähzorn"? Die Gewalttaten Peters des Großen in der Wahrnehmung von Zeitgenossen und Historikern // Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung. - 2013. - Vol. 40. - No. 3. - S. 6 - 7). So, F. Prokopovich, under the pretext of preventing the unnecessary deaths of a Christian at the hands of a Christian, actually defended the position of Peter I in a country where the personal honor of an aristocrat (man) was not protected by anything. The "ideal ruler" of Muscovy himself did not understand the essence of the aristocratic principle of bodily integrity and personally physically abused his subjects, regardless of their social origin. Mock carrying of cold weapons by officers - borrowing external attributes of European aristocratic military culture without the possibility of applying it in matters of defending one's dignity, it seems, can characterize the entire course of call The "reforms" of Peter I: borrowing form without understanding the meaning. The same conflict between the "Moscow" and "European" (Polish-Polish-"Ukrainian") aristocratic cultures manifested itself in the legendary case of Peter and Mazepa: "Mykola Markevich, analyzing the reasons for the hetman's "betrayal", put first the legend according to which at one of the banquets Peter I declared that he wanted to turn the Cossacks into soldiers and, in response to Mazepa's objection, grabbed him by the mustache, saying: "No! It's time for me to take care of you!" (O. Sokyrko. Once again about the prerequisites and reasons for Ivan Mazepa's uprising // Hetman Ivan Mazepa: figure, environment, epoch: Collection of scientific

However, in a country where the lips of the church hierarch from Kyiv actually deny the basic Christian value - freedom of personal will, where the voice of the church proclaims the deliberate deprivation of the population's own will (together and individually) in favor of the emperor - the decision and responsibility regarding the "just" nature of the war quite naturally depends solely on the "Father of the Fatherland": "*And those in power should look after it, so that the war would be righteous*".[183]

That is, the belief of a Christian soldier of the All-Russian Empire that the supreme ruler is waging a just war should free him from any doubts of conscience and thoughts about whether he is sinning against God's will (God's judgment) and whether he is a murderer? In fact, the only thing a newborn soldier of a newborn empire has to do in order to calm his Christian conscience is to simply faithfully follow the authority's order to kill: "Does a warrior and a judge of death who betrays sin against this commandment? And a soldier... standing up for the Fatherland, they do well when, by command... the authorities rise up to kill the enemy, and that is because God's judgment is there."[184]

So, a sufficient guarantee that the military does good or "does good", "standing up for the Motherland" and "killing the enemy" is that they simply act according to the will of the authorities, that is, according to the decision of the "Father of the Fatherland", on whose order the Kyiv intellectual wrote his symbol of the "Orthodox" faith.

Thus, if killing in war takes place by the decision of the authorities, then the participation of soldiers in it is not a sin. Yes, according to the church instructions of F. The image of Prokopovich was formed as a "Christian" - a thoughtless warrior of the empire, who automatically received an indulgence for killing in war, because the emperor is responsible for everything.

The phenomenon of the influence of German Lutheranism on the formation of the behavior of representatives of the military state on the territory of the All-Russian Empire was comprehensively understood

works. - Kyiv: Institute of the History of Ukraine NAS of Ukraine, 2008. - p. 83). Be that as it may, the representative of European aristocratic culture, the duelist Jan (Ivan) Mazepa-Koledynskyi, could not perceive Peter I's gesture towards him as an encroachment on his honor.

[183] Prokopovich F. First teaching as a youth. It contains letters and syllables. - K.: Kiev-Pechersk Lavra, 1753. - P. 26-27.

[184] Ibid.

already in the 19th century. Alexander Herzen (1812 - 1870). Probably, already the ethnic origin (half-Russian by father / half-German by mother) made this Russian political oppositionist hypersensitive to the topic of "rooting" the German "spirit" on Russian soil: "In the middle-class misery of German life, the Feldfebelstvo had nowhere to disperse its members; on Russian chernozem... it quickly developed... The entire pedagogy of Peter and his heirs consisted in variations on this music, that is, in the translation into Russian customs of German barracks discipline. Joint catechisms, philosophical maxims like the famous advice: "You send me one soldier for ten recruits, so that he will be a soldier", that is, kill, kill, disfigure the other nine, but so that the tenth one has music in his spurs. The most amazing thing about all this is that the love for this music has seeped into all strata of civil society, male and female."[185]

AT. Herzen, as we can see, noticed a connection between a certain German "pedagogy" (attributed to Peter I and his German heirs on the All-Russian throne), which, through the spiritual education of Russian youth ("common catechisms"), "leaked" not only into the military environment of the empire, but covered all its social strata. And then Oleksandr Herzen emphasizes the terrible consequences of such "catechization" of the Russian population, which gave rise to two interrelated phenomena - "a nation of slaves" and "an army of thoughtless hired killers": "A uniform makes a man a slave without will and morality! And bribery with a salary reduces a spadasin to the rank of a hired killer. Your evidence reminded me of that Voltaire soldier who, when asked by a traveler: "Why war?" responds; "It doesn't concern me. My craft is to kill, be killed and live by it, the superiors know the rest." According to this theory of uniform and pay as a criterion of morality, no nation would ever get out of dependence on an armed group. All liberations in the world began with indignation against immoral orders, refusal to comply with them.[186]

Indeed O. Herzen is not precise here, not distinguishing between the Germanic model and its Russian simulacrum and, according to the Russian tradition, attributing to Peter the Great as a "great" ruler also "great" (evil) deeds.

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[185] Herzen A.I., Letters to the enemy // Op. in 9 volumes - T. 8 (Articles. Works of fiction, 1863-1869). - M.: Fiction, 1958, - P. 234 - 236.

[186] Herzen A.I., Letters to the enemy // Op. in 9 volumes - T. 8 (Articles. Works of fiction, 1863-1869). - M.: Fiction, 1958, - P. - 236.

But it is clear to us that the German "pedagogy" of Peter I, which was based on "common catechisms", was not the work of a half-educated Russian autocrat, that is, it was essentially German pedagogy that did not belong to Peter's authorship. The text of "The First Teaching to the Gentiles" by the pietist F. Prokopovich as a variant of the "Lutheran catechism" represented this "pedagogy" of Peter. This German "pedagogy" was specially "adapted" for the subjects of the newly created empire, - adjusted accordingly by the former rector of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, because these common "Russian-Prussian" catechisms were not so common. At least they weren't the same. And this is not in the works of M. Luther preached the "pedagogy" of "uniform and pay", according to which the soldier of the empire had to act in the shameful role of a hired killer, carrying out all the immoral orders of the autocrat. This is F. This is how Prokopovich "adapted" the teaching of M. Luther

The father of the German Reformation, as is known, formed the doctrine of call "justified disobedience", which was based on the Biblical thesis: "to obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29). This reformist doctrine significantly corrected the medieval Christian tradition, which was based on the thesis of Augustine the Blessed that a simple order of the ruler guaranteed participation in a just war.

"Luther began with the biblical argument that sometimes it is necessary to 'obey God rather than men'" (Acts 5:29). However, Luther must have seen that this common saying was useless unless it was accompanied by some account of when it was appropriate to obey God rather than men. Thus Luther went on to distinguish three types of cases, namely: (1) "If you know for sure that [your ruler] is wrong, then you should fear God more than men, and neither fight nor serve, because you cannot have a good conscience before God."[187]

Instead, M. Luther advanced a fundamentally different idea: "If you know for sure that [your ruler] is wrong, then you should fear God and not men, and you should neither fight nor serve." Thus, from the mouth of the "father of the reformation" almost for the first time came a call to ignore the "criminal orders" of the ruler - to the point of refusing to serve him. And this refusal was based on opposing God's will to the ruler's will.

M. Luther's radicalism in this matter was weakened by a warning: if a Christian does not know or doubts whether the ruler is waging a just war

[187] Corey D. D., Charles J. D. The just war tradition. An introduction. - ISI Books, 2012. - P. 130.

- in this case, he must still fulfill the order of his superiors: "you must not weaken certain obedience for the sake of uncertain justice."

Be that as it may, the Lutheran tradition and theses of F. Prokopovych differed significantly here: we observe a regression of the Kyiv intellectual's views on the concept of "just war" to the level of development of medieval thought, in which only the autocrat was personally responsible to God for the "type" of war.

It is significant that glorifying Peter I as a military leader - the "Father of the Motherland", i.e. speaking from 1709, from the moment of the victorious "Battle of Poltava", the most eloquent "advocate" of mass murders of the tsar in the Northern War initiated by him, F. At the same time, Prokopovych acted as a "prosecutor" and actually accused the Moscow ruler of the deliberate murder of his subjects, subtly writing the relevant clause in his "religious code". Thus, in the "Catechism" the interpretation of the commandment "do not kill" was expanded by the Kyiv intellectual to "those deeds that do not cause obvious death, but they do cause damage to the stomach, the decent essence of killing: ... to force a person to drink because of the measure of his ability..."[188]

[188] Prokopovich F. The first teaching as a youth. It has letters and syllables. - K.: Kievo-Pecherskaya Lavra, 1753. - S. 27 (kz). It was the compulsion to drink excessively, which sometimes led to death, that Peter I engaged in at the "All-Shutest and All-Drunken Cathedral" and other numerous drunken parties. As the Danish ambassador Yul Just recalls in his own diary (on February 17, 1710): "On the same day, I learned about the death of Prince Luka Dolgorukov, whose son is still the royal ambassador to Denmark. (He died) under the following circumstances. The night before, he was in Preobrazhenska sloboda, (visiting) the tsar, and there he was offered to drink a large cup of wine. But, being sober (by nature) and having more than 70 years since birth, besides having married just 4 days before, the prince decided to pour out a part (cup) so as not to drink it all. After learning about this, the king ordered him to drink a glass of vodka, the size, as they say, of one and a half ales. As soon as (Dolgorukov) drank (this glass), his legs buckled, he fainted and was carried into another room, where he died an hour later. They say that (his) death greatly saddened the tsar: but due to the joyous news received the next day about the continuation of peace with Turkey, the grief was abundantly filled with good Hungarian wine" (Just Yu. Notes of the Danish ambassador under Peter the Great, 1709–1711 / Translated by Yu. N. Shcherbachev. - M.: Tsentrpoligraf, 2020. - C.). Other foreign authors also identified Peter's too cruel behavior, which often led to the death of his subjects: "...the travelogue of Johann Georg Korb, published in 1700, conveyed the picture correctly. There, the Moscow courtyard was painted with bright colors. The report not only showed how Peter behaved with the highest dignitaries, forcing them to drink excessively, court jesters - tearing their beards, cutting them, slapping them, throwing them to the ground, kicking them, and at a banquet he stuffed salad into his mouth - until he suffocated" (von Erren L. "Tödlicher Jähzorn"? Die Gewalttaten Peters des Großen in

Peter I seems to have borrowed this "tradition of coercion" - drinking against the will - from the Germans: "whoever didn't drink, he aroused suspicion... It was in this sense that forcing to drink was a common practice among German officers and soldiers in the 17th century. For these reasons, Peter could not think of a better way to merge Russians and foreigners into the community he needed to fight internal and external enemies."[189]. Actually, like the practice of the "All-Singing Cathedrals", which provoked numerous deaths from forced alcohol abuse and deadly fist fights, it was a kind of tracing paper with... at the Prussian court. It is significant that spiritual persons - Russian church hierarchs, led by Prokopovich himself, arranged similar "assemblies" in monasteries - with excessive consumption of wine and entertainment in the form of fights: "The British Huguenot traveler Aubrey de la Montre described the festivities that took place in the monastery of St. Alexander Nevsky in July 1727 Joyful merriment occupied the main place in the daily routine, and several dozen very well-educated and Latin-speaking monks (together with Theophanes and Archimandrite Peter Smelich...) competed with each other in drinking large goblets of wine ("big bumpers"), fought with fists with Menshikov's servants and among themselves, and then brought "roast" to their large library. There, the visitor saw that the monks were "boxing each other with their books, and in return they were beaten[190]".

Returning to the question of Elisha of Cereus' interpretation of the commandment "do not kill" in the conditions of war, it can be noted that the clergyman drew the image of a Christian - a soldier of the newly born All-Russian Empire, whose will according to "God's" law F. Prokopovich was usurped by their ruler - they were to become mechanical executors of his will, devoid of any remorse for the murders they had committed. The question of a just war was beyond their competence - they did not decide anything. Instead, Lutheran thought went further: a Christian's participation

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der Wahrnehmung von Zeitgenossen und Historikern // Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung. - 2013. - Vol. 40. - No. 3. - S. 4). The number of deaths from Peter's "punitive circle" is not determined: "the number of victims was never collected, but the sources... create the impression that at Peter's court much more people died as a result of forced drinking than as a result of scourging" (Ibid. - S. 10).

189 Erren L. «Deadly irascibility»? The violent acts of Peter the Great as perceived by contemporaries and historians // Journal for Historical Research. - 2013. - Vol.40. - No 3. - p.11..

190 Ivanov A. A Spiritual Revolution. The Impact of Reformation and Enlightenment in Orthodox Russia. - Madison, Wisconsin : The University of Wisconsin Press, 2020. - P. 65.

in war and his choice depended on his personal will and the decision made by each person.

Such an obligation of a warrior before the ruler is based on the legal position - the absolution of the will of the "people" for the sake of "Father of the Batkivshchyna": "Even if the people have abdicated their general will and given it to their Monarch, then how should they not keep his commands, laws and statutes without any reservation... And therefore the people cannot judge matters His Sovereign would otherwise still have with him the will of the general government, which he put aside and gave to his Sovereign... a very blasphemous thing is suitable for a tearful holiday... But the people must endure any disorder and evil behavior of their Monarch... and obey the obstinate[191]". In fact, this meant the rejection of jus resistendi - the right of the people to revolt in case of tyranny of the ruler. This thesis, which endowed the people with the natural right to oppose the supreme ruler, was developed by many Protestant political thinkers of the XVII century.

Most of all, Peter I not only rose as the "emperor" of a weak-willed people, but also as the "Father of the Motherland", who owned the "body" of "his" people - from the lowest strata to the top. This psychologically sadistic "despotic right" of Peter I to control the bodily pain of the "people" was realized through the constant personal physical violence of the ruler of Muscovy against his subjects and could be interpreted as a "just punishment" from the "father": "What Reinhold Kaiser observed about the European Middle Ages applied to the Russian court under Peter the Great: "The husband and father who physically punished his wife, his children or a slave or servant [...] was [...] not a cruel criminal, but one who took advantage of his rights as a householder." Peter beat his dignitaries not because he was cruel or "hot-tempered", but rather as a pater familias who

[191] Prokopovich F. The truth is the will of monarchs. In the determination of the heir of Zherzhavy by the Statute of the Most High Sovereign of our Fatherland Peter the Great, Emperor and Autocrat of All Russia, and other, and other, and other. This year, 1722, on the 11th day of February. Approved by publication and witnessed by a national oath. - S. 31 - 32. I. Stratius, analyzing this text by F. Prokopovich, outlined such a position of the people in relation to the autocrat as the position of a "subject of obligations" (see: Ya. Stratii, Ideas of natural law and social contract in the service of Petrine absolutism ("Truth of the monarch's will" by Teofan Prokopovich) [in:] Ukraine of the 17th century: society, philosophy, culture, edited by L. Dovgoi, N. Yakovenko, Kyiv 2005. - S. 145).

forgave them on the same day. The same is said about his "gentle" father Oleksiy Mykhailovych"[192].

In our opinion, not so much the traditions of the "European Middle Ages", to which the political culture of Muscovy had nothing to do, but the Lutheran religious dogmatics, which derived any political power from the figure of the father-householder, and endowed the "ideal" Christian ruler with the rights that were conditioned by his legal title "pater familias", determined the "medieval" behavior of Peter I in relation to disciplinary control over the bodies of his subjects.

Summing up, we can note that the Christian educational ideal of creating a "new Adam", which was declared by F. Prokopovich in the name of God and in the name of God for the implementation of the project of the newly created empire envisaged:

The upbringing of an ideal soldier from childhood, who should not think about the nature of the war in which he participates and for whom the simple fact of serving the "Father's Fatherland" should act as an automatic indulgence before God and a guarantee of exemption from any responsibility for violating the commandment "do not kill".

The upbringing of an ideal subject from childhood, who should renounce his father, family, relatives, relatives for the sake of the will and any order of the next "Father of the Motherland".

The upbringing of ideal masses deprived of their own voice and will from childhood, who should carry out any crazy orders, immoral acts and outright crimes of the "Father of the Motherland".

All these roles are the soldier who mindlessly kills in the unjust wars of the empire; a subject who informs his relatives for the sake of the "emperor") and the people who do not decide anything and on whom nothing depends - all these are different hypotheses of one dehumanized figure of the Enlightenment era - the "citizen" of the newly created empire, whose figure was supposed to tower proudly above the archaic figures of the pre-modern era - the peasant and the priest.[193]

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[192] Erren L. “Deadly irascibility”? The violent acts of Peter the Great as perceived by contemporaries and historians // Journal for Historical Research. - 2013. - Vol. 40. - № 3. - P. 9.

[193] From this point of view, the philosophical analysis of one text by F. Prokopovych - "Conversation of a citizen with a peasant and a singer or a churchman", which was carried out by Iryna Bondarevska (see: Bondarevska I. Two concepts of knowledge (Teofan Prokopovych and Hryhoriy Skovoroda) // Studia Polsko-Ukrainskie. - 2017. - No. 4. - P. 105 - 108). The status of a "citizen" - a "political person", constructed by the pietists by the empire and for the empire - is higher than the other two "social" positions (peasant and peasant) - precisely because the "citizen" was given the highest value of Enlightenment -

Deprived of family ties, conscience, will and responsibility - this is exactly the kind of "political homunculus" that one fatherless boy from Kyiv molded, after receiving "ideal knowledge" from the center of the pietist network, he hid his own signature according to the external prescriptions of the eternal "law" of the ideal father - the "Father of Fathers" - the law of Moses.

"knowledge", which is not, in fact, Knowledge. Because this "knowledge", in fact, is a simple "instruction" within the communication network, since it is impossible not to interpret, not to change them. In fact, this "knowledge" acts as a "law-precept" - of nature and society. In society, this is "sacred" "knowledge" of a new type - "knowledge" by a "citizen" in a certain way transformed by the pietist network of the "Law of Moses", which is nothing but a "law" that comes from the "Father of the Fatherland - the "Emperor". Only he is the one who knows. The political goal of such a "concept" of "knowledge" is still the same - to sacrifice the "truth ("truth") of the family" ("home knowledge" of the peasant) for the "truth ("truth") of the state" ("the higher knowledge" of the citizen). It is significant that this text by F. Prokopovich's "enlightener", on which the date of writing is not indicated, was first published during the period of the last phase of the First World War, which was devastating for the deteriorating Russian Empire, in 1916 (published by P.V. Verkhovskyi [in:] Uchrezhdenie duchnoi kollegii i duhnoi reglomii, Vol. 2, Rostov-on-Don 1916,). It was a time when military propaganda in a country with a predominantly peasant population needed "new citizens" who would once again have to sacrifice "home knowledge" for the sake of the "higher truth" of the state. How this "pietist project" ended for all the actors of this Christian (Germanic) utopia - peasants, citizens and priests - is well known. However, the old structures of one Germanic utopia will be replaced by others. Twenty years later - in 1939. - two countries built on the ideological basis of German social projects based on the patterns of new German intellectual networks - Soviet "international socialism" built on the basis of German "class" ideas and German "national socialism" built on the racial classifiers of Gunter Hans.

## § 5 "Construction" F. Prokopovich figures of the "female ruler": "Empress" Catherine I as a project of the Prussian pietist network

It is quite obvious that for the final control over the newly created "empire" and its fussy "emperor", the leaders of the Prussian pietist movement had to develop and implement the appropriate "marriage strategy" - with the aim of placing a completely dependent controlled person on the throne of Muscovy. The figure of a woman brought up in the spirit of pietism, who would have the appropriate "life experience", considering the explosive nature and excessive carnal desires of Pyotr Oleksiyovych, seemed to be the ideal "chosen" for this role of the crown-bearing wife of the emperor and, in the future, the future empress.

Marta Skavronska - an orphan girl who until the age of 17 was "under the umbrella" of pietists - first became the wife of Peter I, and later, not without the active participation of members of this religious brotherhood, - the empress under the name of Catherine I.

As you know, the future ruler of the All-Russian Empire, whose ethnic and social origin still causes heated discussions among experts, was a pupil of pastor Y. Glyuk - one of the most loyal followers of A. Franke: "In 1703, he [Y. Glyuk] founded the first Russian gymnasium in Moscow. He was its rector and worked hard to equip the gymnasium with teachers and textbooks. He himself compiled the Russian Grammar. To find teachers and books for his gymnasium, he turned to the pietist August Hermann Franke in Halle for help. They were personally acquainted and J. Gluk was one of his followers... It can be briefly mentioned that the Gluk family, in addition to their own children, also had a stepdaughter, Marta Skavronskaja, probably the daughter of a Lithuanian peasant and his wife, who died of the plague when Marta was still an infant. In 1702 - she was 17 at the time - Martha did not go to Moscow with her named parents, but arrived there later, in the fall of 1703, together with Peter Menshikov, a favorite. In his house, Peter met Marta, and they became a couple. They got married. The first time - in Poland, in 1711. And the second time - in

St. Petersburg, in 1712 - in honor of Catherine, her new name, which she received after converting to the Russian Orthodox faith..."[194]

Some researchers of Marta's biography rightly compare her image with the main character of the fairy tale about Cinderella: "The figure of Catherine I is unique, her fate cannot be compared with any other woman in domestic history (and it is difficult to choose an adequate "object" for an adequate comparison in a foreign one). In fact, she embodied the archetypal fairy-tale image of Cinderella, having been raised from complete obscurity to the heights of the political "Olympus" and became the first Russian autocrat.[195]

Although in the case of the unexpected appearance of Marta Skavronska on the imperial throne of Russia, another, religious narrative could be offered, which could organically describe the girl's fantastic life transformations. It is about the history of the origin of mankind - God's creation of the first man from "clay". This is how the Lutheran pastor J. Glyuk the process of education in his institutions: "Glyuk wanted to teach Russian young men "like soft and malleable clay"... It was planned... that five professors and five teachers, graduates of the University of Halle, what did Gluck ask Franke for?[196]

First, we have before us an almost complete identification of the didactic process (in the pastor's Moscow institution) with the process of divine creation from the "clay" of "Adam".

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[194] Bergius N. A Historico-Theological Exercise on the Status of the Muscovite Church and Religion / Ed. by Ulla Birgegard and Monica Hedlund / Vittershets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien (Slavica Suecana, Series A - Publications, Vol. 3). - Stockholm, Kungl, 2019. - P. 266 - 267. Detailed information about the influence of Pastor Gluk on the formation of Catherine I is contained in the most thorough monograph dedicated to this religious figure - in its separate subsection "4. Katharina I" (see: Glück H., Polanska I. Johann Ernst Glück (1654 - 1705). Pastor, Philologe, Volksaufklärer im Baltikum und in Russland. - Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005. - S. 120 - 138).

[195] Mukhin O. N. Catherine I - “helper queen”: to the problem of the typology of women rulers of modern times in Russia // Omsk Scientific Bulletin. Series “Society: History: Modernity”. - 2020. - T. 5. - No. 3. - P. 9.

[196] Chelbayeva T. “Russian books” from Halle in the discourse of the formation of a new type of Russian literary language // Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophie (Dr. Phil.) vorgelegt der Philosophischen Fakultät II Institut für Slavistik und Sprechwissenschaft der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, von Frau Tatjana Chelbaeva, Tag der Verteidigung: 29. Januar 2015. - P. 64.

Secondly, the appeal of Y. Glyuka to A. Franke's request to send professors from among the graduates of Halle to his institution testifies to the absolute dependence of the pastor and his "Moscow branch" on the pietist center of Prussia. So, the statements of some researchers who try to deny the influence of pietists on the fantastic appearance of the figure of the first All-Russian empress, denying the affiliation of her stepfather - priest Y. Glyuka - to the pietist network.[197]

So, we are dealing with a mysterious story of the metamorphosis of a lonely girl who belonged to the lowest rungs of the social ladder[198] y, which by all accounts was an ideal example of "tabula rasa". This orphan girl, after undergoing "processing" within a certain model of religious upbringing and "innovative" educational practices of pietists, was to turn

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[197] "Gluck was not a pietist, even if he maintained good relations with them, including Franke" (Haas D., Lyutko E., Rimestad S. "God Prepares the Way for His Light to Enter into the Terrible Darkness of Muscovy". Exchange and Mobility Between Halle Pietism and Russian Orthodox Clergy in the 18-th century // SUBBTO. - 2023. - Vol. 68. - No. 1. - P. 200).

[198] "Martha-Katharina was born in 1689 in the village of Ringeni, which belonged to Major Rosen." Von Coxe doubts this year of birth and believes that 1683 can also be considered... The year of birth would then be 1685. Her father is unknown, her mother was an "heiress" in the village of Ringen. Three years after the daughter's birth, the mother died, and the owner, Major Rosen, died even earlier. The girl immediately came under the care of the pastor, who baptized her. She lived with this pastor for two years. Pastor Gluck once drove through Ringen. The pastor complained... about his poverty and his large family, and that he could no longer keep the "kid" with him. Gluck took the girl to Marienburg and employed her as a servant for his young children... Nordberg's version (1746) that Martha Katharina was the daughter of a Swedish officer named Johann Rabe and a commoner named Elisabeth Moritz, who married him in Riga and moved with him to Revel. After the death of her husband, Elizabeth Moritz returned to Riga with her two children, but died there. After a short time, Marta-Katarina ended up in an asylum, and from there to vice-rector Gluck. According to Nordberg (1746), she was born in 1682" (Glück H., Polanska I. Johann Ernst Glück (1654 - 1705). Pastor, philologist, public enlightener in the Baltics and Russia. - Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005. - P. 121.). So, with regard to how Catherine I got to pastor Gluk, there are two versions: one involves the direct "transition" of Martha from one pastor to another - Gluk's family. Another testifies to the girl's acquaintance with Gluck in his orphanage. We can say with full confidence that "contrary to official statements, Marta-Katarina did not come from the Lithuanian-Polish noble family of the Skavronskys, but was an orphan from a "non-German" serf mother... The only thing that can be said for sure is that Marta-Katarina got into the Glyuk family when she was a child" (Ibid. - S. 123). Catherine was grateful to Gluk and his family - "some time after Gluk's death, the tsarina brought his widow and children to St. Petersburg" (Ibid. - S. 124).

from "soft clay" into a "new person" - "Eva-Catherina". After that, of course, marry the "emperor" of the largest country in Europe by "accidental" completely, in order to finally receive the cherished "prize" after his death - the seat of the autocrat of Russia.

Such an incredible story in its internal fantastic transformation surpasses the events of the fairy tale about Cinderella. At least - that version of the magical story of the Brothers Grimm, which was published in the era of Romanticism - 100 years after the events described here.

Who were the authors of this "successful" social experiment, which probably made one doomed girl successful, if not happy, by raising her to the top of the social and political hierarchy?

Who started the clock of this magical fairy tale, which over time turned into a "horror story" of many peoples on the territory of one not-so-ideal empire and beyond its boundless borders? Because, it is obvious that Marta's incredible biography was inscribed from the very beginning in the space of another realized fantasy — the construction of a large-scale "political utopia" of the 18th century. in the boundless expanses of Eurasia.

What was the name of those characters who created this "miracle" - constructed the image of a "new Eve", who was supposed to become the "ideal wife" for the "ideal ruler" of the "ideal state"-empire, and then lead it, freed from the shackles of her own origin - despite her own questionable legitimacy?

At least one hero of this tale within a tale - the "great teacher" and "spiritual father" who, in the system of ideals of the Enlightenment, was supposed to enlighten the future rulers of the "ideal state" - is already known to us. Pastor Y. Glitch This Protestant pastor, who translated Luther's catechism into Russian, had to play the role of "great teacher" assigned to him to the end: he was also invited to teach the heir to the Moscow throne, and in 1703 he translated textbooks for Oleksiy Petrovich.

The figure of pastor Y. The glitch was in plain sight — on stage. However, probably behind the scenes of this story was another Prussian Lutheran pastor - A. Franke - the one whose greatest achievement was the opening of an educational institution for orphans in the city of Halle.

The biography of an orphan who, contrary to the circumstances of life and only thanks to the Pietist didactic method, was raised by Divine Providence to the very top of the imperial power, could look like a living exhibit and a convincing advertising avenue of the correct Christian piety, which the A circle professed. Franke.

However, among the characters of this Russian "Cinderella story" who were involved in the "miracle" (the conversion of Martha to the wife of the emperor Peter - Catherine I) - there were other pietists, who in this tale played the role of "good magicians" who, in the spirit of the 18th century, can be called "alchemists" and "astrologers".

The central problem facing the creators of the pietist geopolitical utopia on the territory of Eurasia in the context of their "marginal project" was the application of sufficient means of legitimation, which would allow the "girl from nowhere" to become the recognized ruler of the empire. Several methods were to be tested here that created the conditions for the transformation of "Cinderella" into "Princess" - legal, religious, historical, mystical.

Legal precedent of 1713-1725, which was implemented on the territory of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation[199], could become a sufficient legal basis that legitimized the model of succession to the imperial throne by the female line. It was in this year that the dynastic law of the Habsburgs was changed and for the first time in the history of the empire, a woman took the throne. Thus, German law prepared a place for the Lutheran pastor's daughter on the highest Olympus of power of the "All-Russian Empire". For the Germanic world, such a transformation could look like the pietists' imitation of a "fashionable innovation" within

[199] "The Austrian patrimony was technically in the fiefdom of the emperor, a position never held by a woman...Fearing full incorporation into Hungary if there was no legitimate successor in the Habsburg lands, the estates of Croatia and Slavonia spontaneously passed in 1712 to accept a female patrimony; now Charles sought to formalize this arrangement in all his territories. His first attempt, the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713, called for the transfer of the Habsburg inheritance to his daughters... The emperor advanced his program very cautiously... As a written and notarized declaration of will, the measure was first circulated among his privy councilors and other senior officers in April 1713... In 1719 the Diet of Austria... promised that only after the house The Habsburgs will die out completely, a new dynasty will be able to rule them... Foreign recognition of the succession agreements also took place. Spain under Philip V was the first in 1725... In exchange for Russia's support, the emperor announced that he was willing to allow its rulers to begin expansion into southeastern Europe" (Fichtner P.S. The Habsburg Monarchy, 1490–1848: Attributes of Empire. - Palgrave Macmillan The Limited, 2003. - P. 62). So, from 1713 to 1725, within the "classical" Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, the ruling House of Habsburg did everything to legitimize female succession to the throne - both inside the state and outside. And in 1725, it was possible to achieve the first external successes. To a certain extent, similar tasks were solved in the space of the newly created All-Russian Empire - with the difference that Catherine I by blood did not belong not only to the ruling dynasty, but also to aristocrats.

the limits of the Germanic imperial ideal. In addition, a kind of "anti-patriarchal revolution" - "women's emancipation" took place in the meaningful space of pietism: women began to claim the symbolic place of the pastor-preacher, not without some success: "... some of its [pietism's] most outstanding leaders were women... In addition, in general, women played a leading role in the pietist movement..."[200]

Female leadership, impossible for the hierarchical structure of the Orthodox Church with its consecration of patriarchal power on the territory of Muscovy, fully fit into the space of both international legal trends of the beginning of the 18th century and pietistic practices of the same period. So, the appearance of a woman on the All-Russian imperial throne became possible thanks to two modernization contexts: the legitimization of her powerful status in international law and the change of her role in the religious context.

Preparation of a new "name" for "New Eve" - wide implementation of the religious cult of St. Catherine by the state. "Old Eve" (Martha) had to turn into "New" ("Catherine") in order to be associated not with a low-born heretic of the "German faith" with a dubious moral reputation, but with the revered state and "Orthodox people" Saint. This issue is considered in most detail in the monograph of Gary Marker.[201] He showed how Saint Catherine was used in Peter I's campaign to make his scandalous second wife acceptable to a key audience - the people.

Saint Catherine had several advantages. She was decidedly obscure, indeed probably apocryphal, a fact that made her biography usefully elastic. She was positively associated with learning, intelligence and prowess in a life that culminated in her torture and execution. Since she was not a nun, she was more available for secular purposes. Peter established a knightly order specifically for women - the Order of St. Catherine, who helped to unite the earthly and holy Catherine and who was the first to receive the earthly.[202] When the "pietist circle" of former

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[200] Martin L. Female Reformers as the Gatekeepers of Pietism: The Example of Johanna Eleonora Merlau and William Penn // Monatshefte. - 2003. - Vol. 95. - № 1. - P. 33.

[201] Ibid - P. 309.

[202] In 1714, Marta Skavronska became the head of the female knightly order of St. Kateryna Its purpose was to redeem Christian prisoners in the Ottoman Empire (See: Marker G. Imperial Saint: The Cult of St. Catherine and the Dawn of Female Rule in Russia. - De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2007. - P. 125 - 144). As noted by F. Prokopovych in a sermon about the obligation'the language of the members of the

friends, desperate to avoid losing power after Peter's death, decided to support Catherine's ascension to the throne, the role and significance of Saint Catherine could again be manipulated to legitimize and favor their stunning act. The main "preacher" of this cult was Feofan Prokopovich: "Feofan was again a preacher in the Trinity Church, this time on the name day of Queen Catherine (November 24, 1717). Most of the sermon was devoted to the love of God, true and false, and the holy martyr Catherine was an example of this true love of God, as well as of her neighbors. In conclusion, he gave the example of Tsarina Catherine, whose love was manifested in her behavior in the Prut campaign, where she showed her love for Peter and for Russia. Catherine's love was manifested in her humility ("meekness") and justice, which made her a good ruler. She also showed her love of God and humanity in the founding of the Order of Saint Catherine.[203]"

Historical legitimization, which connected the history of Muscovy with the legendary Amazons and allowed to combine the image of Catherine with the figure of a "warrior woman": "Tatishchev claimed that in ancient times the Amazons moved from Africa to the banks of the Volga and there became Slavic tribes. He attributed this discovery to Feofan Prokopovich, the archbishop of Novgorod and one of the closest associates of Peter I... The specific date, 1724, when Feofan allegedly presented this idea to Peter I. These amazing Amazons, the great-grandmothers of Russians, played a peculiar role in Tatishchev's historical imagination. According to his idea of marriage as a paradigm of contractual relations, he suggested that the contract between the Vikings and the Slavs was a marriage in which the Vikings played the male role and the Slavs played the female role.[204]

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Order: "Behold, there is a newly established rank of cavalry, newly established from you, in the name of your namesake martyr Catherine... There is a duty to redeem captives from the yoke of the pagans: behold, to your neighbor: there is a duty to all with the right effort to turn the unfaithful to Christ, both to God and to our neighbor; coupled with love, a single matter, and glory: God, and the salvation of human souls..." (Prokopovich F. Words and Speeches. - Part I - St.-Pb.: Land Gentry Cadet Corps, 1760. - P. 227).

[203] Bushkovitch P. Succession to the Throne in Early Modern Russia: The Transfer of Power 1450–1725. - N.-Y.: Cambridge University Press, 2021. - P. 288.

[204] Etkind A. Internal Colonization: Russia's Imperial Experience. - Cambridge, UK and Malden, Mass.: Polity Press, 2011. - P. 50.

As you can see, V. Tatishchev, referring to F. Prokopovich, proposed to consider the historical development of Muscovy as a "marriage" between the descendants of "women-warriors" (Slav-Amazons) and "men" (Vikings). Such an interpretation of Russian history may have really been suggested to the "emperor" by the archbishop of Novgorod in 1724. and should have accustomed the Russian autocrat to the idea that the active dominant role of a woman in marriage in the lands of his rule is normative. And, therefore, that the "warrior wife" Catherine can be transferred to the imperial throne. It is significant that it was in May 1724 that Marta Skavronska was personally married by Peter I as "Empress". Thus, a certain historical tradition of genocracy was subsumed under a historical precedent by a shrewd churchman[205] and at the same time - the idea of the ancient Germanic-Slavic symbiosis of the state.

Finally, the mystical legitimation of the marriage of Peter I and Martha, which was proposed by the same F. Prokopovich within the limits of natural philosophy — a certain alchemical tradition of the XVII — XVIII c. Thus, in Feofan's sermon, which he delivered at Peter's funeral in St. Petersburg on March 8, 1725, the preacher deliberately portrays Peter as an alchemist-monarch who transformed his second wife Catherine, who was created from base metal into gold. The leading researcher of the history of alchemy in Muscovy, Stephen Behr rightly claims that in this passage F. Prokopovich "panegyrically transforms the marriage of Peter and Catherine into an alchemical coniunctio, a union of male and female opposites that leads to perfection[206]". Summing up the interim results, we can note that for the legalization of Marta Skavronska on the imperial throne of Russia, Feofan Prokopovich developed three "external" projects, which were supposed to break the four "circles of alienation" around Catherine I - gender, ethnic, religious and social alienation.

Feofan's introduction of the cult of St. Catherine was supposed to represent the Lutheran Martha as religiously "his" - as an "Orthodox" ruler.

His use of the image of an active "warrior woman" made it possible to present Catherine I as ethnically "her own" - an "Amazon", moreover, one who had the full right to inherit the place of the "warrior ruler" - Peter I.

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[205] Genocracy is a hereditary form of power based on family relationships.

[206] Baehr S. Alchemy and Eighteenth-Century Russian Literature: An Introduction // Reflections on Russia in the Eighteenth Century; 6th International Conference of the Study Group on Eighteenth Century Russia / Ed. by Joachim Klein, Simon Dixon and Maarten Fraanje. - Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2001. - P. 156 - 157.

The appeal of Elizar of Cereus to the "alchemical marriage" was to present the social inequality between Martha and Peter not as a disadvantage, but as an advantage - the only prerequisite for the creation of the "philosopher's stone" of the empire from the ideal mystical combination of the "King" and "Queen".

Audiences to which F. Prokopovich directed the methods of legitimizing the figure of the "new Eve" on the throne of Russia, who represented all social strata of the newly constructed empire.

If Feofan's sacralization of "Martha-Catherine" was aimed, obviously, at a huge silent unlettered mass; if the addressee of the image of the "Amazon woman" created from his submission was the emperor and the relatively small military and political elite of the empire, then the hint of "alchemical marriage" concerned only a few "chosen" from a narrow circle of pietists-"alchemists" - those who were directly responsible for the process of transformations of "Martha" into "Catherine", "Lutheran" into "Orthodox", "peasant" into "Empress".

So, before us is a "strange story" - the story of how the image of the "new Eve" constructed in certain intellectual circles within the limits of a certain "religious utopia" was transformed into the history of one "empire". This story was written from beginning to end by Feofan Prokopovich. It was to him that the so-called Catherine I owed her election to the imperial throne. Because immediately after the death of her crown-bearing husband, a power struggle unfolds at his deathbed. The party of "Latins" at the court, whose leaders were Dmytro Golitsyn and princes Dolgoruky, tried to promote the late emperor's nine-year-old grandson to the throne.

Menshikov supported Kateryna's candidacy. F. was on the side of the latter. Prokopovich First, he reminded that everyone swore to abide by the decree on succession to the throne. When he was denied that the king had never expressed his last will, Feofan suddenly "remembered" that before Catherine's coronation, the emperor was visiting one of the English merchants. And it was there that the monarch allegedly expressed his will that he placed the crown on his wife only in order to hand over the throne to her after his death. Immediately there were others present who confirmed that such a conversation really took place. Menshikov ended the scene by exclaiming: At the emperor's deathbed, the struggle for power begins. "I believe you, my parents and brothers. Long live our august empress Catherine! Menshikov's words were supported by another "argument": the guard stood behind him... The proclamation of Catherine I as empress actually took place.

F. Prokopovich, taking advantage of a favorable situation for himself during the struggle for supreme political power in Russia, also successfully resolved the issue of his own ascent to the Olympus of spiritual power. And, therefore, "handing over" the Russian throne to the nominee of the Pietist network, the Pietist agent Tseresky actually headed the main church structure of the Russian state.

The fact is that among the most influential figures who resolutely opposed the declaration of the wife of Peter I as the sole sovereign of the All-Russian Empire, was the comrade and immediate superior of Yelizar of Cereisky - the first vice-president of the Holy Synod Theodosius Yanovsky.[207]

April 25, 1725 he was arrested for harsh remarks against Catherine I. It was said that his deputy - the second vice-president of St. Synod F. Prokopovich In this way, Feofan not only cleared his career path to the most prestigious position in the church hierarchy, but also removed a person who greatly hindered the formation of a Protestant network on the territory of the empire. At least, the researcher of the Petrine era C. Korzun claims that it was Feodosius Yanovsky who belonged to the opponents of F. Prokopovich, who hindered the latter's connections with the Protestant circle abroad and that it was for these reasons that Feodosius lost his position.[208]

[207] Feodosiy Yanovskyi (together with Gavriil Buzhynskyi, F. Krolik and L. Horka) belonged to the "close Erytic circle" of F. Prokopovich (see "Appendix" in this edition - file No. 1119 M. Radyshevsky "On the life of the heretic Feofan Prokopovich - from the case of Feofan Prokopovich" - Sheet 4 - 4 volumes)

[208] Korzun S. Heinrich von Huyssen (1666–1739) prince educator, diplomat and publicist in the service of Tsar Peter I the Great. - Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, 2013. - P. 196.

## § 6 "Construction" S. Todorsky figures of "female rulers": "Empress" Catherine II as a project of the Prussian pietist network

The final transformation of the newly created "empire" with its center in St. Petersburg into a colonial territory dependent on the Kingdom of Prussia was possible with a complete "transit of power" - enshrining on the Russian throne a representative of one of the German principalities subordinate to Berlin.

Actually, the Prussian pietist network and its local "agents" in the territory of the colony they created - the "All-Russian Empire", starting from the last period of the reign of Peter I (1716), could "juggle" both its policy and the "elections" of the rulers-"emperors" to their own taste and discretion. But in order to reliably protect oneself from the vagaries of a changing fate and to be guaranteed to exploit the boundless human and material resources of one's "colony empire", the imperial throne had to be occupied by someone who was dependent on the metropolis at the level of personal and vassal obligations. And such a dependent candidate - Sophie Friederike Auguste - was found among the princesses of the House of Anhalt-Zerbst-Dornburg (Anhalt-Zerbst-Dornburg), subordinate to the Kingdom of Prussia.

The father of Sophia - the future Russian empress Catherine II - was Prince Christian-August of Anhalt-Zerbst[209], who served as a military officer for the Prussian king Frederick, having received small possessions from the latter. And, therefore, - his principality was in direct vassal dependence on the kingdom and the king.

Christian-August married Princess Johanna Elisabeth Holstein-Gottorp, who was 15 years old. He is not remembered for any bright features, except for his strict Lutheran piety. Actually, from this marriage was born the future empress Catherine II, who had to play a significant role in the great geopolitical game of Prussia regarding the colonization of the territories before the borders of China.

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[209] The future empress of Russia grew up in Prussia in her parents' "...family residence at Zerbst, an insignificant town fifty miles southwest of Berlin and about equidistant between Magdeburg and Wittenberg, where Martin Luther extolled his ninety-five theses at the church door in October 1517." (Dixon S. Catherine the Great. - N.-Y.: Harper Collins, 2009. - P. 28 - 29).

The fact is that shortly after his accession to the Prussian throne, King Frederick II (1740 - 1786) began military operations against the possessions of Maria Theresa of Austria. In the 18th century the German states were scattered and geographically separated, having no contiguous borders. Thus, Prussia controlled territories that lay on either side of lands controlled by other kingdoms. In order to consolidate his own lands, in 1742 Frederick II sent troops to Silesia, capturing it practically without resistance. In response, the Austrian empress showed unexpected fortitude, embroiling the king in a conflict that lasted most of his reign.

Frederick II was very keen to avoid a scenario in which Austria would unite against him with Russia. This was a very real danger, as Elizabeth's Vice-Chancellor, Count Alexei Bestuzhev-Ryumin, was deeply anti-Prussian and wanted an alliance between Russia, England, Holland and Austria.

Frederick believed that his best chance of winning Elizaveta Petrovna's loyalty against the Austrians was for Elizaveta's nephew to marry one of the German princesses who would be connected to his court by vassalage. His officer's daughter - Christiana-Augusta - seemed almost the best candidate.

The Prussian king achieved his goal in August 1744: "The fate of Frederick was deeply involved in these comings and goings of the Romanov and Holstein families. He seemed to pull off a major coup in August 1744, when Grand Duke Peter was betrothed to Princess Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst, who was renamed Catherine when she converted to Orthodoxy. As Frederick smugly said: "No one better suited the intentions of Russia and the interests of Prussia[210]".

To what extent the "great coup" implemented by the Prussian king really coincided with the interests of the empire is highly doubtful. But this "wedding event" exactly corresponded to the interests of Prussia.

The first step of the Prussian king in his great geopolitical game was to "recruit" the mother of Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst - Johanna: "This was the plan of Frederick, who in St. Petersburg relied on Johanna as an unofficial Prussian diplomatic agent. Thus, in addition to the long-term advantage of Sophia's marriage to the heir to the Russian throne, Johanna,

[210] Blanning T. Frederick the Great: king of Prussia. - N.-Y.: Random House, 2016. - P. 204.

being close to the Russian empress, could influence her in favor of Prussia."[211]

The blow of the Prussian king was directed personally against Vice-Chancellor Bestuzhev-Ryumin. In order to bring about the downfall of the Russian diplomat, Frederick II "supplied" the bride's mother with additional motivation, convincing Johanna that "the Russian vice chancellor is hostile to Prussia, and therefore - to Sophia's marriage, and that Bestuzhev will make every effort to prevent the marriage... Johanna joined the conspiracy against Bestuzhev together with the French and Prussian ambassadors. When this plot was discovered, the consequences were disastrous for the two ambassadors and severely damaged Johanna."[212]

In fact, this marriage geopolitical combination of the Prussian autocrat was a "long game" and ultimately had the prospect of removing the "Razumovsky clan" from imperial power - replacing the Ukrainian-Russian ruling elite of the empire / Hetmanship with a German elite dependent on the kingdom and loyal to the king.

Russia's leading diplomat Bestuzhev-Ryumin was a "heavy" figure of the "Ukrainian-Russian clan" on the foreign policy chessboard: "Bestuzhev was helped in this by his own family ties. By cunning, he married his son Andriy to Countess Evdokia (Avdotya) Razumovsky, officially the niece of Count Oleksiy Razumovsky, but actually his daughter. Her mother was none other than Queen Elizabeth, who was secretly and morganatically married to Razumovsky."[213]

Thus, according to the calculations of the King of Prussia, the coming to power in the Russian Empire of vassally dependent German rulers automatically meant the destruction of the Razumovsky and Ukrainian state-political structures that provided them with a stable position, namely the Hetmanship.[214]

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[211] Massie R. K. Catherine the Great: portrait of a woman. - N.-Y.: Random House, 2011. - P. 22.

[212] Ibid. - P. 45.

[213] Blanning T. Frederick the Great: king of Prussia. - N.-Y.: Random House, 2016. - P. 205.

[214] One of the first domestic political actions of Catherine II after her coup d'état was the liquidation in 1764. hetman's institute, and in the foreign policy arena - the creation in the same year of a military alliance between the Russian Empire and the Kingdom of Prussia.

However, after the scandalous fall of the king's main "agent" at the Russian court - Johanna - the "Prussian marriage" constructed by Frederick's imagination had every chance of falling apart. Now all the king's plans rested on a very shaky foundation - strong-willed qualities, intelligence and stability of a young woman - Sophia Augusta Fredrika. And she was able, contrary to expectations, to pull out a "royal game". However, not without the significant help of one "Orthodox agent" from among the Ukrainian-Russian clergy...

Other unforeseen factors - both "spiritual" and "physical" - which were strangely intertwined and connected with the influence of the Pietist network on the territory of the Russian Empire, could have hindered the implementation of the marriage strategy desired by Prussia.

A change of climate and certain circumstances led to the fact that, after reaching St. Petersburg, Sophia soon fell seriously ill. In Berlin, they expected the worst - lethal consequences. The realization of the far-reaching plans of the King of Prussia was again under threat. However, Frederick II could not allow the result of his skillfully played chess game to depend on such a "secondary figure" as the unpredictable health of a young woman. He definitely did not count on this factor. In a situation of severe time constraints, the king of Prussia ordered to quickly look for a replacement for the figure who had already, it would seem, "played out" by death. In the place of one candidate for the Russian imperial throne, another contender from among the numerous Prussian princesses was supposed to be: "In Berlin, Frederick of Prussia began to think about replacement candidates; he wrote to the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, asking him about his daughter in case Sophia died."[215] However, Sofia survived and did not need to be replaced.

Frederick II's geopolitical chess game was victoriously completed when his "protégé" successfully played the final stage assigned to it, accomplishing in 1762. "Prussian" coup d'état. Without this action and the subsequent physical removal of her own husband, Catherine II never "dreamed" of being at the very top of the empire's power hierarchy. The fact is that on August 29, 1744, on behalf of the Senate, she was given two

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Among the recently published works on the subject of the liquidation of the Hetmanship, see, for example: V. Larchenko. Liquidation of the political autonomy of the Hetmanship // Juvenia studia: coll. study of science Ave. - Chernihiv, 2014. - C. 82-93.

[215] Massie R. K. Catherine the Great: portrait of a woman. - N.-Y.: Random House, 2011. - P. 43.

titles - "Grand Duchess" (instead of "Grand Duchess") and "Her Imperial Highness" - without adding the formula "heiress to the throne", and, therefore, without any chance of succession to the throne.[216]

The reaction of the king of Prussia - as it was recounted by the European newspapers of the time - had all the signs of unrestrained euphoria: "Within a few months after the overthrow of Peter, many newspapers reprinted an allegedly "intercepted" letter of the skeptical Prussian king Frederick the Great, who humiliated Peter and sarcastically praised Catherine: "Voila, the poor emperor of Russia is dethroned by his wife: it was expected. The empress has a great mind, does not have the religion and character of the dead empress.' Perhaps this was a reference to Elizabeth's sexual depravity".[217]

For him - King Frederick II, this joyful event was really expected and, probably, even more than expected - it was simply planned. The Prussian king was glad that his "protege" turned out to be very intelligent - completely in the spirit of the Age of Enlightenment, which valued human intelligence too highly. At least Catherine was shrewd enough to successfully implement his plans and serve the king by her own calling, appreciating his intelligence and talent as a writer. He admired her "great mind", and she respected him on an equal footing with Voltaire. In one of the letters dated November 20, 1756, she wrote: "I read the works of the King of Prussia with the same greed as Voltaire. You will think that I am reconciling with you if I say that I am a deep admirer of His Prussian Majesty".[218]

The positive geopolitical consequences of the "Prussian coup" in Russia did not take long. Already in 1764 Catherine II abolished the Hetman institution and "under pressure" signed a military "alliance" treaty

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[216] Kislova E. Simon Todorsky's sermon "God's special blessing" and the marriage of Pyotr Fedorovich and Ekaterina Alekseevna // Literary culture of Russia in the 18th century · St. Petersburg, 2009. - Vol. 3. - pp. 121 - 122.

[217] Dawson R. P. Catherine the Great and the Culture of Celebrity in the Eighteenth Century, - London, N.-Y., Oxford, New Delhi, Sydney: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2021. - P. 35. It is indicative that Frederick II the Great's assessment of the activities of his "protege" was always complimentary — whether it was about the legislative abilities of the empress or any other state-building initiatives: "Frederick II, for example, in journal versions of his assessment, which was allegedly leaked, marked Catherine's "Instruction" as "worthy of a great person" and unique among female rulers" (Ibid. - P. 97).

[218] Mac Donogh G. Frederick the Great. A Life in Deed and Letters. - N.-Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1999. - P. 260.

between the kingdom and its "empire": "In these circumstances, Catherine was finally induced under the pressure of Frederick II to sign an alliance treaty with Prussia in 1764, according to which both states undertook to come to the aid of each other in the form of financial subsidies in the event of an attack by one of the states, or with armed forces in the event of an attack by two of states This agreement laid a broad framework for Catherine's foreign policy for the next sixteen years."[219]

Relying on the resources of the "empire", the kingdom of Prussia demonstrated high rates of economic development, which allowed maintaining a high degree of militarization of the state. At the same time, under the rule of Frederick II, the German "metropolis", not having enough of its own resources and with a relatively low intensity of exploitation of the subordinate population, was ahead of its Russian "colony", which Catherine II planned to build according to the Prussian model and in accordance with the "ideals" of the Enlightenment[220]: "Under the leadership

[219] Madariaga I. Catherine the Great. A short history. - New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2002. - P. 40.

[220] Influential professional literature is still dominated by the erroneous, in our opinion, thesis that the era of Catherine II's reign passed under the banner of Enlightenment ideas and ideals. But, in fact, its policy easily fits into the context of "colonialism" and "soft" German "colonial" expansion, rather than corresponding to the "spirit" of the Age of Enlightenment. Its consolidation of the "native population" while simultaneously giving benefits and giving European Protestant colonists the most fertile lands resembled, rather, the situation with the colonization of North America - with the only difference that the role of African slaves on the territory of the Russian Empire was played by the local population. Moreover, such a colonial policy of Catherine II went against the same ideals of the Enlightenment, which some historians - researchers of her reign so often refer to: "In Sweden and Denmark (the latter including Schleswig-Holstein), the spread of the ideals of the Enlightenment in government circles led to almost complete liberation of the peasantry by the end of the 18th century. In this respect, they were about half a century ahead of most of their European counterparts. In Catherine the Great's Russia, on the contrary, the situation of the peasants worsened; Enlightenment seems to have made itself known only in connection with the queen's cultural interests, her correspondence with foreign and, above all, French writers, her administrative reforms and church policy" (Weis E. Enlightenment and Absolutism in the Holy Roman Empire: Thoughts on Enlightened Absolutism in Germany // The Journal of Modern History. - 1988 (December). - Vol. 58. - P. 184). So, in fact, correspondence with "enlighteners", not least - with one of the "idols" of Sophia Augusta, King of Prussia Frederick II the Great and a tolerant ("pietist") religious policy - these two signs are actually the "Enlightenment" of Catherine II. The paradox of the situation was that when serfdom was actually abolished on the territory of the "small" "dynastic" Motherland of the Empress of All Russia (Schleswig-Holstein), then on the "colonial" territory the "mother-empress" pursued a

and inspiration of this enlightened autocrat, the Prussian bureaucracy managed to produce from the economic resources of what was then the least prosperous part of Germany, a public revenue that was greater than that of Russia at the time of the reign of Catherine II, with a per capita taxation burden no greater than that of Austria and much less than that of France. He managed to maintain the army of a first-rate state with the resources of a third-rate state."[221]

Thus, the result of the successful "Prussian rebellion" of Catherine II was not just a change of the dynastic line: the ruling house of the "Romanovs" was headed by a representative of the Holstein-Gottorp branch of the Oldenburg dynasty, which was in complete vassal dependence on the Prussian kingdom. The consequence of such dynastic changes was the legal consolidation of the appropriate foreign policy course of the "empire" - its long-term strategic attachment to the plans of the militaristic "metropolis".

In all this geopolitical combination, the "religious factor" played not the least role. It will be recalled that the king of Prussia characterized Catherine II as indifferent to the Christian religion, or, literally, "had no religion." However, he knew for sure how difficult it was in the case of Sofia Anhalt-Zerbstska to solve the "religious question" in order to realize his own geopolitical dreams.

Indeed, it was the strong religious convictions of the future Russian empress — and not so much hers as her father Christian Augustus, whose authority for his daughter was indisputable — that could stand in the way of Frederick II's plans. Just before leaving for Russia, the daughter promised her father that she would never betray their Lutheran faith.

Sophia's spiritual education from childhood was maintained in the rigorous norms of reformed Lutheranism: the princess's initial education was given "at ransom" to the pietist pastor Friedrich Wagner.[222] And

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strict policy of consolidation.

[221] Frederick the Great. A profile / Ed. by Peter Paret - London and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1972. - P. 59.

[222] “The rudiments of a more formal curriculum in French, German and Scripture were taught by Pietist pastor Friedrich Wagner, a chaplain in her father's regiment. It was a much more prestigious position than it seems. The Pietist pastors chosen to become military preachers (Feldprediger) in the Prussia of Frederick William I were a zealous elite appointed directly by the king, who relied on them to transform illiterate peasant recruits into god-fearing, disciplined soldiers. Their most prominent convert was Prince

although Catherine II's attitude to his "science" and to him personally was later painted in thick dark colors, we can state that her religious upbringing was at the very beginning in the hands of representatives of the Prussian pietist network. First of all, the pietist heritage should include the grafted Sophia F. Wagner's focus on reading and memorizing the text of Scripture.[223] Regarding such "Protestant" "techniques" of learning the Bible, the Russian empress remarked: "I don't believe that it is humanly possible to remember everything that I had to learn by heart," complained Kateryna, "there is no point in doing it. To this day, I have kept the Bible in German, in which all the verses I learned by heart are marked in red ink.[224]

Secondly, the corresponding pietistic work ethic forever left its mark on the character of the ruler of Russia: "The greatest legacy of Sophia's early education was the form of a secularized pietistic work ethic that remained with her for the rest of her life."[225]

Third, the future empress of Russia accepted “his [Wagner's] concept of God and the need for salvation, but rejected his most complex ideas. She accepted many of his moral principles, but denied that his influence was decisive. Many times she clearly expressed her belief in God, but... her correspondence with her faithful and reliable friend Baron Melchior von Grimm revealed that she remembered Wagner's moral judgments better than his theology."[226]

The paradox of the situation in which the German princess found herself after arriving in Russia was that in the interest of achieving the geopolitical goal of Prussia and the ambitious dreams of Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst herself - the "appropriation" of the All-Russian imperial throne - she

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Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, Christian Augustus' cousin and the king's chief general" (Dixon S. Catherine the Great. - N.-Y.: Harper Collins, 2009. - P. 26).

[223] “Because the word was central to Pietism—an emotional form of religiosity that emphasized intense personal connections between individual believers and their God—its pastors saw Scripture as the primary source of religious authority and the primary guide for daily behavior. Wagner was no exception" (Dixon S. Catherine the Great. - N.-Y.: Harper Collins, 2009. - P. 27).

[224] Dixon S. Catherine the Great. - N.-Y.: Harper Collins, 2009. - P. 27.

[225] Ibid. - P. 28.

[226] Petschauer P. Catherine the Great's Conversion of 1744 // Yearbooks for the History of Eastern Europe, New Series. - 1972 (June). - Vol. 20 (H. 2). - P. 181.

had to "betray" the state religion of the Prussian kingdom, having gone through a difficult path of spiritual conversion from "Lutheranism" to "Orthodox orthodoxy". And this task of spiritual "reformatting" - turning Sophia into an "Orthodox empress" - was also entrusted to a promising agent of the Pietite network in Russia, a graduate of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and the University of Halle, the former teacher of Hryhorii Savvych Skovoroda and the newly appointed clergyman of the princess, who was to take care of her as soon as Sofia arrived in Russia. It is about Simon Todorsky, who was its pastor during 1744 - 1749.[227]

Formal biography of S. Todorsky up to the time of his meeting with the future Empress Catherine II, included several stages: "Todorsky, later known in Russia as a lawmaker and cleric of the heir to the throne Peter Fedorovich, the future Emperor Peter III, as well as his bride Princess Sophia Friederika Augusta Anhalt-Zerbstska, the future Empress Catherine II, as a member of the Holy Synod and Archbishop of Pskov, Izborskyi and Narvskyi, entered in the matriculation sheet when entering the university of Halle in the summer of 1729, where he arrived after courses at the Kyiv-Mohyla Theological Academy (1718-1727) and a one-year stay at the Academic Gymnasium in St. Petersburg. At the University of Halle, Todorsky was a student of the theological faculty until 1735, and in addition to theology, he diligently studied languages (German, Hebrew, Arabic). After returning to his homeland in 1738. Todorsky became a professor of the Kyiv-Mohyla Theological Academy in the class of German and Oriental languages, until he did not respond in 1741. to move to St. Petersburg to the above-mentioned position of legislator of the heir to the throne and his bride, receives from 1743. the post of archbishop of Pskov, Izbor and Narva, once held by Feofan Prokopovich, and becomes a member of the Holy Synod"[228].

The initiator of the turning point in the biography of the Ukrainian Orthodox intellectual — his arrival at the spiritual center of Prussian pietism — was obviously one of the evangelical pastors, behind whom was

[227] Div.: Kislova E. The sermon of Symeon Todorsky “God’s special blessing” and the wedding of Pyotr Fedorovich and Ekaterina Alekseevna // Literary culture of Russia in the 18th century · St. Petersburg, 2009. - T. 3. - P. 117

[228] Mengel S. “Harmonia vocum hebræicum cum Sclavonicis rutenicis et polonicis” - a comparative study of student Simeon of Todor and the concept of “simple” language in his “Russian” translations from Halle at the beginning of the 18th century // Sub specie aeternitatis. To the 60th anniversary of V.B. Krysko. - Moscow, 2021. - P. 655.

the figure of Feofan Prokopovych and the entire pietist religious network. At least, Svitlana Mengel, one of the best researchers of the creative heritage of the future clergyman of the German Princess Sophia, unequivocally alludes to this course of events in her article: "Todorsky was advised to go to Halle by the evangelical pastor and home preacher in Livonia, Albert A. Virorth, whom he met through a certain Berngard in Revel. Virort maintained close contacts with the Russian archbishop Teofan Prokopovich (1681–1736) and belonged to the worldwide network of August Franke (1663–1727)."[229]

About the fact that S. Todorsky was sent to Halle on the initiative of F. Prokopovich with the specific task of translating into Russian the

[229] Mengel S., Schorch S. The Harmonia vocum hebræarum cum Sclavonicis rutenicis et polonicis by Simon Todorskij: A new archive find on comparative language and biblical studies at the University of Halle in the early 18th century // Logos in Dialogos. In Search of Orthodoxy / Edited by A. Briskina-Müller, A. Drost-Abgarjan and others - Muenster, 2011. - S. 546. Probably, the mission with which the pietist network was interested in the "services" of S. Todorsky and with whom F. Prokopovych "transported" S. Todorsky to the city of Halle was translated into Russian from the German landmark work of the "spiritual father" of pietism, J. Arndt: "During his stay in Halle, Todorsky translated (probably on the order of Feofan Prokopovich) from German the book by J. Arndt "On True Christianity"" and the work of Anastasia the Preacher "The Doctrine of the Beginning of Christian Life". At Prokopovich's request, the publication of books was supported by the empress: Anna Ioannivna sent Symeon Todorsky 600 rubles for this purpose. Both books were printed in Kopievsky's printing house in Halle in 1735. and enjoyed a certain... popularity in Russia" (Kyslova E. Simon Todorsky's Sermon "God's Personal Blessing" and the Marriage of Peter Fedorovich and Ekaterina Alekseevna // Literary culture of Russia in the 18th century · St. Petersburg, 2009. - T. 3.S. 118). During the reign of Anna Ioannivna, pietists generally had a huge influence on the politics of the All-Russian Empire: "During the time of Biron, Halle had a great influence through its preachers on many of the most influential civil servants at the court of Anna Ioannivna" (Winter E. "Einige Nachricht von Herrn Simeon Todorski". Ein Denkmal der deutsch-slawishen Freundschaft im 18. Jahrhundert // Zeitschrift für Slawistik. - 1956. - No. 1. - S. 83). Paradoxically, but after receiving the post of member of St. Synod S. Todorsky was forced later, during the reign of Elizavet Petrivna, in 1743. to prohibit the distribution of their own translations of Protestant books, hiding the person of the translator and all the time being at risk of revealing this secret: "These were, in the opinion of the vast majority of theologians of the Russian Orthodox Church, translations of heretical writings that appeared without the permission of the Holy Synod, that is, illegally. Religious books had no right to appear in Russia without the permission of the Holy Synod, and even Peter I strictly observed this ban for state reasons" (Winter E. "Einige Nachricht von Herrn Simeon Todorski". Ein Denkmal der deutsch-slawishen Freundschaft im 18. Jahrhundert // Zeitschrift für Slawistik. - 1956. - No. 1. - S. 85).

basic text of pietism (Arndt's work "On True Christianity") is also written by S. Korzun.[230]

As Simon Dixon (Dixon S.) notes in his monograph, after the disclosure of espionage activities in favor of Prussia's mother Sophia Johanna "... the only consolation for the Prussian party was their success in persuading Elizabeth not to cancel the plans for Sophia's wedding... Since the couple was not yet officially engaged, and the decisive prerequisite for their engagement was Sophia's conversion to Orthodoxy, it was all the more urgent to complete her accession in the Russian faith. Frederick, who feared that her [Sophia's] obstinacy in religious matters would be the greatest stumbling-block to the whole project, was confident that she could be won back by careful persuasion. To make this task as painless as possible, her conversion was entrusted to Archimandrite Simon (Todorsky), a monk who had studied in Halle, the nerve center of the Pietist religion in which she had been brought up. Only 29 of his 800 books were in Russian, the vast majority in German, Latin and Greek..."[231].

[230] "As part of their missionary efforts, the Halle pietists wanted to translate Johann Arndt's True Christianity and other pietist books into Russian and make them available to Russians. A complete translation of the book into Church Slavonic appeared in Halle in 1735. At the suggestion of Prokopovych, the Ukrainian theologian Simon Todorskyi, a graduate of the Mohyla Academy and a student of the University of Halle, and later Bishop Pleskau, translated the work. But already on December 9, 1743, Queen Elizabeth banned Arndt's book by her decree. Existing copies were to be handed over to the synod in St. Petersburg and to the synodal office (synodal office) in Moscow and sent from the governorates, cities and provinces to the capitals to these bodies. The government also forbade the translation of such books by Russian subjects abroad and their import into Russia without the permission of the synod. The plan to spread the ideas of Pietism in Russia was thus thwarted. Prokopovich had to give up direct contact when his position in the Synod became weaker and weaker after the death of Peter I due to the attacks of some members of the clergy... In this dangerous situation, Prokopovich maintained contacts with Halle exclusively through third parties" (Korzun S. Heinrich von Huyssen (1666–1739) Prinzenerzieher, Diplomat und Publizist in den Diensten Zar Peters I., des Großen. - Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, 2013. - S. 195 - 196).

[231] Dixon S. Catherine the Great. - N.-Y.: Harper Collins, 2009. - P. 51. Some Russian authors, noting that S. Todorsky was close to the pietist circle, this factor is bypassed when determining the reasons for appointing him to the role of spiritual teacher of the future Russian empress and emperor - Catherine II and Peter III: "In 1742. on the recommendation of Metropolitan Raphael Zaborovsky, he was summoned to the court and appointed as the lawgiver and tutor of the heir of Duke Karl-Peter-Ulrich Shdzwig-Holstein-Gottorpsky, and also from 1744 - the lawgiver and confessor of the bride of the heir of Princess Sofia-Augusta-Fredrika of Anhalt-Zerbst. Obviously, it was learning and fluency in the German language that contributed to the choice of his candidacy for such an

The above provides an opportunity to finally demonstrate the mechanisms of the functioning of the religious (pietist) network on the territory of the All-Russian Empire for the implementation of the Prussian geopolitical (marriage) strategy: the King of Prussia, Frederick II the Great, in order to realize his "marriage project" involved the "Prussian party", which "activated" its most influential religious agent born in the Hetmanship. This is how the "spiritual pietist empire" of the Kingdom of Prussia was built, which, more than a century later under Wilhelm, turned into an actual empire in 1871. Actually, it is in this context of the vassal dependence of the "empire" on the "kingdom", "Russia" on "Prussia" that we should consider the famous mission of Kapnist to the king of Prussia - with the aim of influencing the latter on his "vassal" on the imperial throne.

In order to determine the means of Sophia's conversion that S. Todorsky could have used, we must dwell on both the personal experience of the "Orthodox" clergyman of the German princess and the missionary strategies that made the Pietist network the first global structure of Protestantism.

As most authors note, the defining argument of the bishop was that "the Orthodox faith is almost indistinguishable from the Lutheran faith": "Todorsky, bishop of Pskov, was an educated man with a broad outlook, fluent in German, spent four years studying at the University of Halle in Germany. There he came to the conviction that in religion it is not the differences between creeds that are important, but the inner, fundamental message of Christianity. He advised Sophia that the Orthodox faith was not so different from the Lutheran faith and that she would not betray her promise to her father if she converted. Impressed, Sophia wrote to her father that she realized that the difference between Lutheranism and Orthodoxy is only that "external rites are completely different, but the Church is connected with them here because of people's superstitions."[232].

Another author noted in this regard that Todorsky "did not allow the differences in creeds to interfere with the main issues of the Christian faith... he also used the enlightening arguments preached in Halle to bring

important activity at the court" (Kyslova E. Simon Todorsky's Sermon "God's Personal Blessing" and the Marriage of Peter Fedorovych and Ekaterina Alekseevna // Literary culture of Russia in the 18th century · St. Petersburg, 2009. - T. 3. - P. 116).

[232] Massie R. K. Catherine the Great: portrait of a woman. - N.-Y.: Random House, 2011. - P. 42.

Sophia to the Orthodox fold... he realized that Sophia can be brought to Orthodoxy only through conviction"[233].

What enlightening arguments were taught to Orthodox Bishop Simon at the University of Halle, could you convince the future All-Russian empress to join the "Orthodox koshara"? What did this, from a theological point of view, very dubious formula - "there is no significant difference between Orthodoxy and Lutheranism" really mean or could mean, which apparently allowed Princess Sophia to change her father's faith quite easily for the sake of achieving "imperial" power, and, on the other hand, to psychologically stay within the limits of the word that the daughter gave to her authoritative father, namely - "never betray the Lutheran faith"?

We have to consider this lexical formula, because its semantics, as we will see, hid not only the mechanisms of personal mental compensation and the motives for the religious conversion of one young person named Sophia August Fredrik Anhalt-Zerbst, not only the internal drivers of the policy of religious tolerance of the future empress Catherine II, but also joint "geopolitical projects" between the Prussian "Lutheran" kingdom and by the Russian "Orthodox" empire, in particular, during the dismemberment of its state body at the end of the 18th century, which was catastrophic for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the entire European architecture.

Firstly, this "lexeme" could mean Sophia's reception of the personal experience of an authoritative other - the "spiritual father" of the German princess in Russia - Simon Todorsky, whose powerful word of faith could symbolically compete with the faith and word given by the daughter to her actual father. We could classify this experience of Bishop Simon as a position of "dual ecclesiality", which allowed him to simultaneously be in the status of both a Lutheran pastor and an Orthodox priest of the highest rank - a member of St. Synod

Moreover, the first, Protestant rank was "internal", "hidden" on the territory of the Russian Empire, while the second, Orthodox, was "external", "declared". And, it is obvious that in front of the future Empress Catherine II, in fact, as her groom - Karl-Peter-Ulrich, their Russian-Ukrainian clergyman had to rise up in the "inner" guise of a Lutheran pastor, who was obviously most impressed by "the controversial work of

[233] Petschauer P. Catherine the Great's Conversion of 1744 // Yearbooks for the History of Eastern Europe, New Series. - 1972 (June). - Vol. 20 (H. 2). - P. 184.

Lange against Christian Wolff from 1723. In Germany, this text was a funeral hymn for the visionary mission of Halle's pietism during the Enlightenment."[234] This belonging to S. Todorsky to the most "conservative" wing of pietists in Halle, in fact, as well as his specific pastoral activity on the territory of Prussia, must be clarified.

As one of the most thorough German researchers of the biography of Symeon Todorsky writes about the period of his stay in the city of Halle — E. Winter: "A significant point of Todorsky's activity in Halle was... the concern of Ukrainians for their compatriots from Russia. Russians and Ukrainians were then in the Galle garrison from 1729 to 1735. They were either a gift from the Russian tsar to Frederick William I, who arrived in Prussia: Peter I had already started this terrible sale of people, or they fell into the hands of Prussian recruiters. As you know, the Prussian soldier king was wrong to look for soldiers of extraordinary size... Of course, Todorsky was not completely devoid of useful ulterior motives. The Prussian king liked such pastoral care... because, first of all, it gave him the opportunity to reduce frequent desertions... By the way, there were not only Russians and Ukrainians... closer compatriots, but also Illyrians, Serbs..."[235].

First of all, it can be assumed that the military power of Prussia since the declaration of this state as a kingdom in 1701 grew on the blood of "live goods" from the territory of the "All-Russian Colony" and, probably, constantly depended on the "gifts" of Peter I - the sale by the "Father of the Motherland" of his numerous "children" - like the slave trade

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[234] Winter E. "Einige Nachricht von Herrn Simeon Todorski". Ein Denkmal der deutsch-slawishen Freundschaft im 18. Jahrhundert // Zeitschrift für Slawistik. - 1956. - No. 1, - S. 89. Here we will briefly recall the formal biography of Y. Lange: "One of the brightest students of August Hermann Franke (1663-1727) was the often-densely misinterpreted Joachim Lange (1670-1744). After studying in Leipzig under Franke Lange, he continued his pietistic studies in Halle. He was called to the post of professor of theology at Halle in 1709 after serving as rector of the Berlin Gymnasium. A prolific writer, Lange was a leading spokesman for Pietism, often engaged in polemics, such as the long debate with Lescher between 1707 and 1722. It is perhaps because of his polemics that Lange gained a negative reputation in the modern reading of history.' (Lee H. J. The Biblical Accommodation Debate in German Interpretation and the Enlightenment. - Chicago, IL: Trinity Christian College, 2017. - P. 74).

[235] Lee H. J. The Biblical Accommodation Debate in German Interpretation and the Enlightenment. - Chicago, IL: Trinity Christian College, 2017. - P. 90 - 91.

organized by the "kings" of African tribes in cooperation with the colonizers... How important was the share of high-quality "Slavic cannon fodder" in the lower ranks of the army of Prussia XVIII ct. and, accordingly, to what extent did the military power of the "metropolis" depend on its "colonial" component? The answer to these questions still awaits researchers.[236]

Secondly, the service of S. Todorsky as a chaplain of the Prussian army and his pastoral care over a specific military "contingent" of the garrison of Halle allows us to characterize the future member of the Orthodox St. Synod as an "absolute pietist". That is how B. called his fundamental monograph "Absolute Pietist". Marschke (B. Marschke), having studied the influence of pietists in Halle on the formation of the Prussian state and their formation of the institution of chaplaincy on the territory of the kingdom.[237] From the work of this German researcher, who created an ideal collective portrait of the Prussian pietist[238] it can be learned

[236] It is believed that in 1730 the Prussian army numbered 60,000 men, 20,000 of whom, that is, one in three, were subjects of another European autocrat. To date, as far as we know, there are no reliable studies that would calculate the exact number of subjects of the All-Russian Empire among the "foreigners" of the Prussian army. We can only assume that Peter I's practice of selling Prussia "cannon fodder" was developed on an "industrial scale" during the reign of Anna Ioannivna.

[237] Marschke B. Absolutely Pietist: Patronage, Factionalism, and State Building in the Early Eighteenth-Century Prussian Army Chaplaincy. - . Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 2005. - 189 p.

[238] B. Marschke created a prosopographic database of chaplains from printed and archival materials. sources and used correspondence between Halle pietists to inform his new interpretations. Marschke's prosopographical analysis identifies the chaplains as people of predominantly burgher origin. They became chaplains around the age of 20, very often after studying in Halle, where many began their careers as teachers in Pädagogium Franke. Their service was short, an average of four years, after which chaplains became prime candidates for the Prussian pastorate.Although his prosopographical data extends from the end of the seventeenth century to 1755, his analytical focus is on the period between the accession of Friedrich Wilhelm I in 1713 and the death of August Hermann Franke in 1727. Although the choice of chaplain ultimately rested with the regimental commander, Pietist leaders in Berlin, notably Karl Hildebrand Baron von Kanstein, began to promote Pietist candidates to audition for these positions. With the accession of Friedrich Wilhelm to the Prussian throne in 1713, royal support for the Pietists gave Kanstein, and after his death in 1719, Lampertus Goedicke, as garrison chaplain in Berlin, the opportunity to nominate candidates for vacant chaplaincy posts. The chaplaincy became even more attractive when Goedicke began to unofficially use his influence at

that in order to acquire the right to his own parish on the territory of the kingdom, the future pastor had to: a) graduate from the theological faculty of the University of Halle; b) to first realize the pastoral "calling" as a chaplain of the Prussian army.

Both formal requirements for becoming an "absolute pietist" of Prussia, pastor S. Todorsky, an ardent admirer of Lange's work and a translator of Arndt and Franke's works into "Russian", fully performed. And his pastoral activity in the Prussian army must have really pleased "old Fritz" - the father of Frederick II the Great. We can say that if F. Prokopovich was a "spiritual father" - the creator of the "ideal image" of a soldier of the "All-Russian Empire", while his younger contemporary S. Todorsky became his practicing "pastor" - the chaplain of this "colonial" army of Prussia.

As it seems, the "transfer" of the German princess Sophia-Augusta-Fredrica from the center ([P]russia) to the periphery (Russia) was accompanied by her "transfer" from the care of one pietist chaplain (Pastor Wagner) to the care of another (S. Todorsky). Everything was done with the aim of keeping the young woman's thoughts under constant control

So, in the system of religious coordinates of Prussia, Simon, a member of the Orthodox Synod, could be considered and probably was considered a Lutheran pastor who belonged to the extensive "brotherhood" of the global Pietist community. The risk of revealing this affiliation was the subject of Simon's constant fears and the need to hide his own "inner Lutheranism." Fortunately, "theology of the heart" is the primacy of faith over external rituals, which was the basis of pietism and was reflected in the emblematics of the inner light of the "all-seeing eye"[239], made it

court to secure the preference of chaplains for vacant pastoral posts in the civil Prussian church. Evaluating the state-building of the Kingdom of Prussia in terms of the centralization and bureaucratization of the chaplaincy, Marschke argues that bureaucratization began in earnest under Friedrich Wilhelm I, but was developed by the Pietists themselves not to strengthen the state, but as a means of securing their patronage network centered on Goedicke. B. Marschke comes to the rather revolutionary conclusion that Franke was a critical patron in the Pietist faction, and that King Friedrich Wilhelm played only the role of a "broker" in the network, connecting the chaplaincy candidates proposed by Kanstein and Goedicke to the regimental commanders.

[239] This symbol of the "all-seeing eye" appeared on the facades of "Orthodox" religious buildings on the territory of the All-Russian Empire at the end of the 17th - 18th centuries. under the influence of high-ranking "orthodox" representatives of the Pietist network and

possible to consider the differences in the rituals of various Christian denominations as secondary and insignificant. From such perspectives, it was possible to remain a consecrated "Lutheran-pietist", adhering to the postulates of the Eastern Orthodox Christian Church as necessary for the perception of the people of "superstition".

So, regarding himself personally, "pastor/bishop" Simon could testify with a pure heart that his own Lutheranism is capable of accommodating Orthodoxy as well. So, this "pietist" way of accepting a dual religious self-identification in the ideal space of the universal Christian religion was also opened for his spiritual student Sophia.

However, the strength of the argument regarding the equivalence of "Orthodoxy" and "Lutheranism" rested not only on the limited personal experience of the Orthodox hierarch. We will remind that since the implementation of church reforms, an older contemporary of S. Todorsky - F. Prokopovich, the organizational and dogmatic distance between these Christian denominations was shortened as much as possible: the Holy Synod organized by Feofan according to Protestant norms approved his Lutheran catechism. Along with anti-papist rhetoric, persecution of "Orthodox" by state church structures for "wrong" veneration of icons and relics of saints; along with the tendency to constantly limit the rights of monasteries and monks, the Russian Orthodox faith increasingly took on the features of the Lutheran confession of faith. From such historical perspectives of the "drift" of Russian official Orthodoxy in the direction of Protestantism, the word of the Lutheran Sophia to her father that she would never betray her father's faith was, in fact, not violated.

In parallel with the actions of the Prussian pietist "agent" Symeon Todorsky in St. Petersburg, with the aim of transforming the religious views of Princess Sophia, a similar spiritual "treatment" of her fanatical Lutheran father took place - within the framework of a single religious strategy developed in the metropolis, Berlin. Frederick II the Great directly led the implementation of this strategy[240]. The Prussian autocrat used all his

was adopted by various Masonic organizations as one of the fundamental Masonic emblems.

[240] Frederick II the Great's views on Christianity and his religious beliefs need clarification. The future king was involved in the pietistic environment of A. from childhood. Franke. "August Herman Franke, the leader of the Halle pietists, long remembered that at the age of seven, the crown prince applied to himself with "a special,

available resources — religious and administrative — to convince the father of the future empress Catherine II in a rather simple, as it seemed, thesis: "Lutheranism is no different from Orthodoxy." But it turned out not to be a trivial task, given the resistance that Christian Augustus put up. At least the king, "who was very interested in the marriage, wrote of the situation to the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt: "Our good prince is absolutely obstinate in this matter. I made endless efforts to overcome his religious doubts. His answer to all my arguments is: "My daughter will not join the Orthodox Church." Eventually, Frederick found a good Lutheran priest to convince the Christian Augustus that there was "no essential difference" between the Lutheran and Orthodox faiths, and the Christian Augustus gave his consent. Friedrich later wrote: "I had more difficulty in carrying out this work than if it had been the most important work in the world."[241]

These lines were written by a man who, at the time of Sophia's religious conversion in 1744, himself professed the Prussian version of Pietism in his first religious work from 1741: "his earliest published work

God-given joy" the first psalm: "Blessed is the man who does not go to the council of the wicked and does not stand in the way of sinners, and does not sit in the place of the despised." At this age, Frederick, on his own initiative, composed a work on "The Lifestyle of a High-Born Prince", who is supposed to be a pietistic (devout) Christian. Examining him in front of a large gathering, his father asked: "And when you grow up, will you not behave like others of your condition: overeating, drinking, cursing, being callous and fornicating?" The king was satisfied with his answer: "I will keep the ten commandments"" (Frederick the Great. A profile / Ed. by Peter Paret. - London and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1972. - P. 11). Although Friedrich received his basic education in accordance with the "principles of strict Calvinism of the Pietist brand. The tutors were to minimize the prince's contact with classical civilization, literature and fine arts. Religious ethics, along with modern history and geography, were mandatory for Frederick, although his Huguenot tutor, Jacques Égide Duhan de Jandun, introduced the crown prince to ancient and modern literature in French and helped him create a considerable secret library" (Frederick the Great's. Philosophical Writings / Ed. by Avi Lifschitz. - Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2021. - P. X — XI). In this sense, he followed the traditional path of pietistic education for the Hohenzollern, in particular his father: "The most important influence on the work of Frederick William [father of Frederick II the Great] was the theologian August Hermann Franke of Halle... Like all Hohenzollern, Frederick William was brought up as a Calvinist. Pietism was a synthesis of Lutheranism and Calvinism, which borrowed the universality of grace from the one and combined it with the "activity" of the other" (Mac Donogh G. Frederick the Great. A Life in Deed and Letters. - N.-Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1999. - P. 25).

[241] Massie R. K. Catherine the Great: portrait of a woman. - N.-Y.: Random House, 2011. - P. 45.

on religion... Confession of Faith." Frederick II first made his confession public in 1741, after he had annexed the province of Silesia from the Austrian Empire, and he did so again in 1756, shortly before the Third Silesian War/Seven Years' War began... his early religious views, which can best be described as quite similar to those of the leading Protestant clergy and prominent Pietists."[242].

Christian-August consented to the conversion of his daughter to the "Greek faith" and blessed her marriage to Karl-Ulrich on June 12, 1744.[243]

Probably, for the King of Prussia personally, it really had to be "the most important matter in the world", since he was willing to make such extraordinary efforts to solve it. And after the Orthodox conversion of Princess Sofia, in 1745 her wedding with Peter III took place. Frederick II the Great implemented his plans: "In letters, congratulating Princess Anhalt-Zerbstska and her daughter Catherine on their "triumph", which he perceived as "one of the happiest days of his life", he expressed the pious hope that Queen Elizabeth would wake up to her true interests, take the necessary measures to secure her regime and her family, and not allow

[242] Kloes A. Dissembling Orthodoxy in the Age of the Enlightenment: Frederick the Great and his Confession of Faith // Harvard Theological Review. - 2016. - Vol. 109. - No. 1. - P. 105. Frederick II professed the following creed: "In his confession, which he published in the form of a pamphlet and distributed to the Protestant members of the Imperial Parliament of the Holy Roman Empire in Regensburg, Frederick II publicly professed (1) his belief in the divine inspiration of the texts of the Old and New Testaments; (2) belief in the triune nature of God; (3) his understanding that the death of Jesus was a substitutionary atonement for the sins of mankind, and propitiatory to those who were united to him by faith; (4) that in regard to predestination, all men have been called by God to salvation, but that God justly curses some because they reject His gracious calling and obstinately persist in their sinful way of life; (5) that salvation is by faith and not by good works, but that true faith and good works are as inseparable from each other as light from fire; (6) that through the sacrament of baptism he was not merely washed in water, but mystically washed in the blood of Jesus, whereby he entered into a covenant of grace with God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; (7) that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper he was further nourished by the grace of Jesus Christ, since he thus participated by faith in all the spiritual goods which were obtained through the wounds and sufferings of Christ; and (8) although the ministries of Martin Luther and John Calvin were guided by the Holy Spirit, because their opinions were inherently inferior in authority to the Word of God, he would never consent to be called either a Lutheran or a Calvinist, but would ever be known only as a Christian" (Ibid. - P. 105 - 106).

[243] Kislova E. Simon Todorsky’s sermon “God’s special blessing” and the marriage of Pyotr Fedorovich and Ekaterina Alekseevna // Literary culture of Russia in the 18th century. - St.-Pb., 2009. - T. 3. - P. 121.

enemies of Prussia at her court to distort his resumption of hostilities against Austria"[244].

Sophia Augusta Fredrika's formal religious conversion took place on June 28, 1744. This date of spiritual transformation - June 28 - opened a wide path for the German princess Sophia to the Russian imperial throne and, obviously, had a special symbolic meaning for her. It was supposed to mean a kind of "heavenly sanction" for the future transfer of "absolute power": on this day, Princess Sofia changed her name and became Catherine for the first time. Therefore, it is no coincidence that it was on June 28 (1761) that Catherine was proclaimed Russian empress - Catherine II.

Religion and power, the activities of the Pietist network and Prussian geopolitics, the daughter's spiritual rebellion against the father's religion, and the wife's "anti-patriarchal" military mutiny against her husband, Peter III, seem to have intertwined on this date. But what is most important - behind this was the figure of a graduate of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, a native of the Hetmanate - Simon Todorsky, entangled in the pietist network - just as behind the figure of Peter I was the figure of another teacher of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the pietist Feofan Prokopovich. And this Prussian religious network, which built a nest on the territory of the Hetmanate and relied on influential agents from the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, actually manipulated the "emperors" and "empresses" created by them for the purpose of realizing the universalist (global) Christian utopian project of the "ideal empire" all the way to China and America. And this spiritual universalist transit network Berlin - Kyiv - St. Petersburg opposed the autochthonous Ukrainian-Russian project, which tried to form its own statehood on the territory of the Hetmanship or to lead the newly created empire. In fact, in XVIII Art. a situation was formed on the territory of the Hetmanship between the spiritual and military elites of Russia-Ukraine, between globalist imperial and national projects, between the spiritual fathers of the empire - Feofan Prokopovich and Simon Todorsky, on the one hand, and the leaders of the Hetmanship - I. Mazepa and Razumovskyi, on the other hand. Behind this stood their own versions of historiography, their own models of the "Russian / Russian" language, etc.

The personal religious experience of Catherine II, which was based on the learned thesis about the actual identity of the "Lutheran" and "Orthodox" faiths,

[244] Blanning T. Frederick the Great : king of Prussia. - N.-Y.: Random House, 2016. - P. 204.

which kept the mental structure of her personality from feeling guilty before her father, was later transformed into state legal practice, which allowed, on the one hand, to approve the state of religious tolerance on the territory of the Russian Empire, and on the other hand, provided the possibility of its German colonization.

Thanks to this pietistic adaptive strategy, which declared the identity of the "Greek Orthodox faith (Orthodox'i)" and "Lutheranism", the latter acquired the de facto status of a "reference" Christian denomination at the time of Catherine II's accession to the imperial throne of Russia. All Protestant currents in the empire had to undergo a kind of "religious censorship" - a check on the conformity of dogmatics with the postulates of the "German faith". The decision of the Senate and the Synod regarding the admission of certain foreign colonists to live in the empire took a standard form: "since the religion of the community (A) is not much different from Lutheranism, the decision of St. To the Synod and the Senate, the community (A) can use all the privileges granted to the colonists by the All-Russian Empress in her Manifesto of 1763." As an example, we cite the granting of rights to the community of the Evangelical brotherhood of the Augustan confession by the Decree of the Empress from 1764: "According to the manifesto published by His Imperial Majesty on July 22, 1763, on the permission of foreign peoples to become citizens and settle on lands in the empire of His Imperial Majesty, the Evangelical Augustan Society confessions... and their general directorate sent to His Imperial Majesty the deputies, Pavel Lairitsa and Ivan Lorets, asking His Imperial Majesty for the most important... for the sake of which His Imperial Majesty ordered the Synod to review the main foundations of the rules and teachings of their churches, and the Synod informed His Imperial Majesty that the teachings of this society are Lutheran, rather than Reformed resembles with only a small distinction, and is called an evangelical society, then through this, as well as other Christian Law, Her Most Gracious Imperial Majesty allows people to become subjects and settle in the empire of Her Imperial Majesty, with such privileges and freedom, which Her Imperial Majesty in the mentioned Manifesto declared to the whole nation, allowing them according to their teachings and conscience, faith and their own law, such as they are The Synod was offered, will be sent without hindrance."

As we can see, the existing differences between Lutheranism and other Protestant denominations were simply neglected. It was a pietistic strategy. Thus, the argumentative formula that allowed to suppress the personal remorse of Princess Sophia Augusta Frederica at the time of her official religious conversion became part of the legal formula that allowed Thus, the legal basis for the policy of religious tolerance in the empire and the corresponding "m'which" Germanic colonization of the empire. And, in general, this entire legal model of the Russian Empire in relation to religion largely resembled the "Edict on Tolerance" of 1692.

the Chinese emperor Kangxi, who opened the pietist and Jesuit network free access to the territory of his empire.

In addition, the Pietist religious globalist version of a new spiritual empire from Prussia to China did not foresee the existence of a Catholic Commonwealth. The fate of the last Slavic state-republic in Europe at the end of the XVIII century. was doomed: “The 'dissident question' was the official terminology applied to the conflicting status of various religious minorities in predominantly Roman Catholic Poland. These minorities—the Russian Orthodox population in the eastern third of the country and the hundreds of thousands of Protestant Lutherans in the north—were actively persecuted for their religious practices and denied most political rights. They were not allowed to elect deputies to the Diet, hold high administrative and military positions. For years, their leaders sought help abroad: the Orthodox — to Russia; in Protestants to Prussia. Their constant problems and repeated requests for protection gave Russia and Prussia another common interest in Poland and an additional reason to interfere in Poland's internal affairs.[245]

It was the representative of the 2nd generation of the Prussian pietist network - the "Little Russian" intellectual S. Todorsky (1700 / 1701 - 1754), behind whom was the figure of another pietist of the 1st generation - F. Prokopovich (1681 - 1736), T. G. Shevchenko had every right to address the accusatory lines of his iconic poem of 1845. "My friendly message to my dead, alive, and unborn compatriots in Ukraine": "Your truth: Poland has fallen, and crushed you too!"[246].

It is significant that the "collective image" of F. Prokopovicha / S. Todorsky was clearly visible not only in the "spiritual" portraits of their "wards" - emperors and empresses of All Russia, including their obvious influence on the tragic pages in the history of Poland, but also clearly reflected in the "intellectual genetics" of the most prominent representative of the 3rd generation of the pietist network of Hetmanship and Slobid Ukraine. It is about Hryhorii Savvych Skovoroda (1722 - 1794)[247].

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[245] Massie R. K. Catherine the Great: portrait of a woman. - N.-Y.: Random House, 2011. - P. 273.

[246] As an epigraph to the poem, the poet put words from St. Scripture: "Whoever says that he loves God and hates his brother is a lie" (Sob. Epistle to John. Ch. 4, p. 20).

[247] The interval of birth dates of F. Prokopovich / C. Todorskyi / G. Pans - 20 years. Accordingly, they can be considered as representatives of three generations of pietism on the territory of Ukraine, which faced different tasks - from the spiritual reformation of emperors to the remelting of elite population groups and poorly educated people.

## § 7 Hryhorii Skovoroda as a philosopher-pietist: statement of the problem

Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, placing Feofan Prokopovich in the context of Protestant European intellectuals[248], also noted that the Ukrainian thinker H. Frying pan can be considered as a legitimate "disciple" of Feofan[249].

True, Mykhailo Serhiyovych also saw significant differences in the views of older and younger intellectuals. These disagreements could be interpreted within the anthropological dichotomy as a confrontation between two approaches in the process of forming the "new Adam" - "external" (F. Prokopovich) and "internal" (H. Skovoroda).

If the "teacher" paved the way to the "new imperial man" through the "Law" - the external patriarchal coercion of the ideal "Father of the Motherland", then the "student" acted as a promoter of personal "ethics" that was supposed to change the "people"[250] from the "inside" - through the personal "internal transformation" of everyone.

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[248] "The Prokopovichs began to accuse him of falling into Calvinism and Arianism. In his expositions of theology, he really did not follow the Catholic models, but the evangelical theologians of the 17th century. Gerard and Kvenstedt, and praised the scholarship and criticality of Protestant scientists" (M. Hrushevskyi. From the history of religious opinion in Ukraine. - Lviv: From the printing house of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1925. - C. 113).

[249] Today, the study of parallels between the views of these Ukrainian thinkers XVIII ct. is a common topic of intelligence: Bondarevska I. About the "enlightenment" of Teofan Prokopovich and Hryhorii Skovoroda // Kyiv Academy. - Vol. 4. - S. 69 - 86; Bondarevska I. Two concepts of knowledge (Teofan Prokopovich and Hryhoriy Skovoroda) // Studia Polsko-Ukrainskie. - 2017/. - No. 14. - S. 101 - 115.

[250] In this sense, it is customary to compare Socrates and Skovoroda: "The further similarity of both philosophers can be confirmed in the ethical direction of their activity, which was manifested not only in words, but also in actions. Both of them have a great influence on the environment in which they live, an influence that is not based on their announced work, but to a large extent on the living example that they set with their person and their activity" (Mirchuk I. H. S. Skovoroda (Notes on the history of Ukrainian culture) // Proceedings of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague. - 1926. - Volume 1. - P. 24).

Odin, F. Prokopovich, had to live up to the image of a respectable "teacher" - to be "his own", sketching the type of "new aristocrat" in numerous sermons; the other, "student" G. Skovoroda, who culturally and according to some habits still belonged to the aristocratic sour cream[251], had to live the role of "his" in the space of "escapist" behavior, avoiding the benefits of administrative official positions.

It is obvious that this should have been manifested and it was manifested in completely different ways of life of the "spiritual" "father" and "son". M. Hrushevsky drew attention to this external disagreement with internal kinship ("ideological succession"): "Prokopovich... loved glitz, power, wealth and showiness. His royal residence was famous for its feasts, luxury, and sybarism. Skovoroda, who has a lot in common with him in ideology and can to some extent be considered his ideological successor, as a person and moral character, is a complete contrast to him, and as much as he exerted an unusual moral influence on his environment, Prokopovich was as fruitless on his part. Intellectually, he may have been even stronger than his distant student, but morally he was immeasurably lower."[252].

Thus, marking the intellectual connection between the two iconic figures of Ukrainian thought of the 18th century, recognizing that Feofan Prokopovych's writing is governed by the "Protestant spirit", the leading Ukrainian historian did not define the common intellectual context in which their ideological kinship was formed and, accordingly, that within the project of the new empire, they both, in different ways, built a common pietistic utopia - created "new man" according to the German pietistic program. Actually, this gap cannot be blamed personally on Mykhailo Serhiyovych, since at the time of publication of his work (1925), the entire existing historiographical tradition "slipped", demonstrating a rare

[251] Let's pay attention to the fact that, for example, H. Skovoroda belonged to the same aristocratic consumer culture as Feofan Prokopovich. So they both loved Tokai wine and consumed it at the first opportunity.

[252] Hrushevskyi M. From the history of religious thought in Ukraine. - Lviv: From the printing house of the Scientific Society named after Shevchenko, 1925. - C. 116.

blindness regarding pietism[253]. Appropriate heuristic research in European archives was needed to be able to move in this direction. The leading Ukrainian historian did not have such opportunities in those conditions.

Instead, we owe the discovery of the Prussian pietistic context of the Ukrainian intellectual tradition of the XVIII century, realized on the basis of the appropriate source base, to the significant researcher of the intellectual heritage of Skovoroda - Dm. Chizhevsky. In the "Preface" to his monograph "Philosophy of G. Skovorody" outlined the spiritual direction in the context of which it is possible to write the philosophy of the Ukrainian thinker of the 18th century without any particular intellectual losses: "...the spiritual current of the West, the closeness of which we will ascertain Skovorody in the main points of his worldview, is call "German mysticism""[254]. This thesis about Hryhoriy Savvych belonging to the German philosophical tradition is supported by a significant number of researchers today[255].

It is no coincidence, in our opinion, that this is the view of Dm. Chyzhevsky was formed precisely in Halle: "Foreword" dated 15.5.1933

[253] An overview of all options of possible "influences" on the philosophy of H. Frying pans, see: Chizhevsky Dm. Philosophy in Ukraine. - Prague: Siyach, 1926. - P. 65 - 68. It is significant that none of the authors listed in "Philosophy in Ukraine" paid attention not only to pietism, but also to German philosophical thought in general.

[254] Chizhevsky D. The philosophy of G. WITH. Frying pans - Warsaw: From the printing house of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, 1934. - C. 3.

[255] See: Hrybkov T.V. German mysticism and Hryhorii Skovoroda in the European irrationalist tradition. Abstract of the PhD dissertation: 09.00.05 / T.V. Hrybkov - Lviv, 2006. - 18 p.; Hryhorova N. IN. German mysticism in the philosophical work of H. WITH. Skovorody // Under the sign of Hryhoriy Skovorody: the prime time of Ukrainian culture: materials of the IV International. science and practice conf. "Humanistic philosophy of education as a component of successful post-totalitarian transformations", Kharkiv, December 6-7. 2018 / Kharkiv. national ped. University named after G. WITH. Frying pans [etc.]. – Kharkiv: KhNPU, 2019. – S. 80 - 81; Luyy T. IN. Hryhorii Skovoroda and Western European philosophy: between the shores of mysticism and rationalism // Scientific notes of NaUKMA. Philosophy and religious studies. - 2022. - Vol. 9 - 10. - S. 3 - 22; Ushkalov L. From the history of Ukrainian mysticism: Skovoroda and Gamaliya // Ushkalov L. Ukraine and Europe: essays on the history of literature and philosophy. - Kharkiv: Maidan, 2016. - S. 140 - 164.

marked "Halle over Saale"[256]. It is obvious that his generalization regarding the affiliation of G. The Ukrainian researcher came to the intellectual landscape of the "German mystics" after familiarizing himself with the archives of this center of German pietism.

Later Dm. Chyzhevsky published the monograph "Ukrainian prints in Halle" - the result of his thorough archival research of the "Ukrainian trace" in Halle. The "visual effect" that opens this booklet is indicative: a portrait of the leader of the pietists - A. Franke with the accompanying signature: "August Herman Franke. Modern style (from the collection of Prof. Dm. Chyzhevsky)" in which the philosopher specified to which current of "German mysticism" the intellectual heritage of not only Hryhoriy Savvych, but also of other Ukrainian thinkers, including Feofan Prokopovich and Simeon Todorsky, can be attributed: "As for the content, all the works translated by Todorsky belong to the literature of "pietism", even though Arndt's works are written at the beginning of the 17th century, when pietism as a current did not yet exist... the last part of Arndt's "True Christianity" also discusses the issue of Christian "natural philosophy", which is not so characteristic of pietism... Criticism of external ritualism was presented, among other things, by Teofan Prokopovich in his dialogues. Prokopovich was based on the studies of Protestant theology and, probably, partly also from the works of pietists, which were in considerable numbers in his library.[257].

So, Dm. Chyzhevsky probably first established the "pietist chain" in the Ukrainian philosophical tradition between F. Prokopovych, S. Todorsky and Arndt, adding to them also H. Skovorod as the greatest follower of this German mystic in the field of "natural philosophy": "But he came closest to Arndt Skovorod's "True Christianity", although Arndt certainly did not belong to its sources; in particular, Skovoroda develops a number of natural philosophical thoughts (it is enough to mention the "big" and "small worlds" - the macrocosm and the microcosm - the world and

[256] D. Chyzhevskyi. Philosophy of H.S. Skovoroda. - Warsaw: From the printing house of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, 1934. - C. 4.

[257] Chizhevsky D. Ukrainian prints in Halle. - Krakow-Lviv: Ukrainian Publishing House, 1943. - S. 22 - 23.

man), which also belong to the main thoughts of the fourth book of Arndt's "True Christianity"... at the same time as Skovoroda, Arndt's work (in the original or rather in Todorsky's translation, the issue has unfortunately not been investigated) was used on the border of the Ukrainian territory, in the Voronezh region Russian, cv. Tikhon Zadonsky, who in some of his educational works simply follows Arndt..."[258].

Perhaps this view of the intellectual image of G. Skovorody - concentration of attention on "German mysticism" and "natural philosophy", Dm. Chizhevsky was indebted to direct communication in the 1920s. 20th century with the German intellectual E. Brock (Erich Brock, 1889-1976), whose main interest at the time covered at the same time the "small" post-Versailles nations of Europe, the history of "Swiss mysticism" and the issue of "natural philosophy"[259].

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[258] Chizhevsky D. Ukrainian prints in Halle. - Krakow-Lviv: Ukrainian Publishing House, 1943. - S. 22 — 23. In addition to D. Chizhevsky Olena Dzyuba notes other researchers who studied "the influence of the ideas of German Protestantism and the early Enlightenment on the philosophical views of F. Prokopovicha, H. Frying pans were studied by well-known scientists, it is enough to name the philosopher and literary critic D. Chizhevsky, V. Nichyk, V. Litvynov, German scientist Ed. Winter" (Dzyuba O. German book in the libraries of Ukraine (XVII c.) \\ Ukraine in Central-Eastern Europe. - No. 4. - 2004. - P. 308). We are talking about such works as: Lytvynov V.D. Ideas of early enlightenment in the philosophical thought of Ukraine. - K., 1984; Nichyk V.M. Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and German culture. - K., 2001; Winter E. Halle als Ausgangpunkt der deutschen Russlabdkunde im 18 Jahrhundert. - Berlin, 1953.

[259] "For all the notes and information, as well as for help in extracting the literature, the author expresses his sincere gratitude to Prof. of Freiburg University to Jonas Kohn and expert of Swiss mysticism Mr. To Erich Brock (in Munich)..." - wrote in 1926 D. Chizhevsky in the preface to the text "Philosophy in Ukraine" (Chizhevsky Dm. Philosophy in Ukraine. - Prague: Siyach, 1926. - P. 5). Eric Brock is a German-Swiss philosopher. Studied medicine, oriental languages and philosophy. He worked as a political journalist after World War I. In various daily and weekly newspapers, in particular, he dealt with the problems of European nationality and regionalism, which arose after the First World War as a result of the demarcation of the Versailles and Saint-Germain peace treaties. Until his death E. Brock worked on the philosophy of religion; his intellectual heritage includes as yet unpublished manuscripts. The most famous work - "Naturphilosophie" - was published after the philosopher's death in 1985. At the time of the "thank you note" D. Chyzhevskyi (1926) Eric Brock did not publish any monograph, and probably his theses formulated in "Natural Philosophy" should have been known to Ukrainian intellectuals from private communication. It is also obvious that the Ukrainian intellectual could borrow the idea of a "national philosophy" inherent in every nation from the German (Freiburg) "neo-Kantian" philosopher Jonas Kohn (1869-1947). However, as

Forming in 1926 a view of what sphere most influences the uniqueness of national philosophies, the Ukrainian thinker in the book "History of Philosophy in Ukraine" emphasized that "the national moment has a significant influence on philosophy and indirectly through the deepest of the sources that animate philosophical creativity - the religious sphere (cf. the influence of Catholicism... in France, Protestantism and its separate currents, such as pietism, later revived Catholicism - in Germany)"[260].

Thus, the "deepest" source that determined the specific features of the German way of philosophizing Dm. Chizhevsky is the first to mention Protestantism, and within the latter - its only trend - "pietism".

So, if we accept the thesis that pietism was a "deep religious source" of the German way of philosophizing, if the philosophical and theological reflections of H. Skovorody, in fact, like his predecessors and older contemporaries - Feofan Prokopovych and Symeon Todorsky belonged to this Protestant current, so several questions of religious, ethnic, political plan arise.

First of all, since each philosophy carries distinct national features that are characteristic of a certain ethnic community, and the latter at the level of deep structures depends on the corresponding type of folk religiosity, is it not possible to consider the Ukrainian philosophy of the XVIII c. as a derivative of the "Protestant" religiosity of the Ukrainian people, which obviously contradicts the "axiom" of its historically rooted "Orthodox archetype"? The Ukrainian intellectual tradition of the 19th century gives the right to pose such a question. 20th century, which was implicitly followed by Dm. Chizhevsky and Kotra included such

noted by Dm. Chyzhevsky, the views of the latter were limited: he advocated the position of the influence of national specificity on research methods; instead, the Ukrainian thinker defended the opinion that not only methodology, but also axiology (values) and the structure of philosophizing are nationally determined (Chizhevsky Dm. Philosophy in Ukraine. - Prague: Siyach, 1926. - p. 11).

[260] Chizhevsky Dm. Philosophy in Ukraine. - Prague: Siyach, 1926. - P. 11.

representatives of the "first echelon" such as M. Dragomanov[261] and M. Hrushevskyi[262].

Secondly, did not "Prussian pietism" form the spiritual basis for construction among the German-speaking Ukrainian intellectual elite of the XVIII c. of a peculiar Ukrainian-German identity, responsible for the further breakdown in the 2nd gender. XVIII ct. Ukrainian political organizations? In other words, was the "hard colonization" of Ukraine being prepared - the consolidation of the "Russian" (Ukrainian) body (the destruction of the Hetmanship, Chichi, the introduction of slavery) through "soft" colonization - through the consolidation of the Ukrainian soul by the hands of the natives[263]. Just like F. In his sermons, Prokopovich proclaimed that the Germanic lands were the "mother" and cultural center for all others, as well as H. Skovoroda formed the exclusive loyalty of

[261] So, for example, V. Volkovskyi, having conducted a thorough textological analysis of relevant works by M. M. Drahomanov - among other things, on the subject of his perception of the ideas of the religious Reformation in Europe, reaches the following general conclusion: "Drahomanov's views on religion and Christianity in general, on the Reformation in particular, are very important for us for two reasons. First, they illustrate the history of religious identity in Ukraine, exposing the prejudices of the "Orthodox identity of Ukraine", showing the persistent and deep interest of the figures of the Ukrainophile discourse and the formation of the modern Ukrainian nation in Protestantism and the Reformation. In particular, Drahomanov believes that it is Protestantism that is the most appropriate form of religion for Ukrainians... Hrushevsky also shared the idea of a tendency towards the Protestant understanding of religiosity" (V. Volkovskyi. The Idea of Reformation in the Ukrainian Social and Political Thought of the 19th Century on the Example of M. P. Drahomanov // Богословские размышления. - 2016. - №17. - С. 298 - 299). No matter how criticized Dm. Chizhevsky for his categorical apparatus - the applied concept of "national philosophy" (see, for example: Yosypenko S. L. To the origins of Ukrainian modernity: Ukrainian early modern spiritual culture in the European context. - Kyiv: Ukr. Center of spiritual culture, 2008. - C. 63 - 68) - this is the thesis of M. Drahomanov, that "Protestantism is the most suitable form of religion for Ukrainians" fully agrees with the assumption of D. Chyzhevskyi, which is the basis of the views of iconic representatives of Ukrainian national philosophy XVIII c. "Reformed Christianity" must lie.

[262] Ivan Ohienko, Orthodox Metropolitan Hilarion, succinctly characterized the work of M. Hrushevskyi, which described the history of religious thought in Ukraine (M. Hrushevskyi From the history of religious thought in Ukraine. - Lviv: From the printing house of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1925. - 192 c.) as "not objective, from the Protestant point of view." Dm. Chizhevsky was familiar with the work of M. Hrushevsky (Chizhevsky Dm. Philosophy in Ukraine. - Prague: Siyach, 1926. - P. 47, 76) and generally shared his opinions, noting that the latter considered "Skovoroda's writings as "remarks of the Kyiv school"" (Ibid. - P. 76).

Ukrainians to the Germans. According to Hryhoriy Savvych, only Germans and Ukrainians could be considered equal, and therefore interchangeable. Some of his contemporaries testified to this philosopher's ethnic bias, his dual national loyalty: "Diogenes of all the Greek nations respected the Spartans only as people; Skovorod mainly loved Little Russians and Germans. This exceptional love was the reason for my argument and disagreement with him on the first date."[264]. On this ethnic bias G. Pans were indicated by various researchers of his work[265]. For example,

[263] D. Chyzhevsky tries to solve this dilemma of "Ukrainian-German" identity, which arose from his concept of "national philosophy", claiming that every national character has a characteristic - sympathy for one other nationality. And, surprisingly, for Ukrainians, namely - Ukrainian philosophers - F. Prokopovich, H. It was the Germans who were close to Skovorodi: "Very typical features of the national character reveal the sympathies of the representatives of this nation to other nations. Among notable Ukrainian thinkers, we find such sympathies mainly with the Germans (Prokopovich, Ckovoroda, "Books of the Beating of the Ukrainian People", partly Kulish, B. Kistiakovsky) and Italians (Gogol)" (Chyzhevsky Dm. Essays on the history of philosophy in Ukraine. - Prague: Ukrainian Public Publishing Fund, 1931. - P. 19).

[264] Vernet I. Near the Lopatinsky Bridge - an excerpt from memories of Kharkov... // Ukrainian Bulletin. - 1817. - Part 6 (April). - P. 123.

[265] As you know, H. Skovoroda distinguished between Little Russia and Ukraine, delineating these countries as his Motherland: "But this is the idea of his homeland that Skovoroda, as it follows from the memories of the same Kovalinsky, still had, and they were as follows: "He preferred Ukraine to Little Russia over air and water... He usually called Little Russia his mother because he was born there, and Ukraine his aunt because of his residence there and of love to her" (M. Kovalinsky. Life of Hryhorii Skovoroda // H. S. Skovoroda. Complete collection of works: in 2 volumes - Volume 2. - K.: Naukova dumka, 1973. - C. 357). This passage obviously raises many questions. First of all, why is the "aunt" (Ukraine - Slobidska Ukraine) more related than the "mother" (Hetman Oblast-Little Russia) in the space of female relatives? Why is there no father in this scheme at all? Is not hidden in this passage of the philosopher, who defines the boundaries of his "symbolic family" and at the same time the Motherland, a reference to a certain model of his "natural philosophy"? After all, it is obvious that the thinker associates distinctive "female elements" with various "primary elements": "Ukraine-aunt" possesses the elements of "water" and "air", and "Little Russia (Hetmanship)-mother" - the birthplace of Grigory Savvych, is obviously combined with "earth". Therefore, the statement of G. Pans can be interpreted in such a way that he prefers the feminine elements of "water" and "air" to the maternal element of "earth". What we cannot agree with is the fact that in this case "we only have an indication of the territorial affiliation or regional identity of Skovoroda" (Artyukh V.O. Hryhoriy Skovoroda: Ukrainization of the image // Sumska Starovyna. - 2022. - № LX. - C. 59). The given testimony of a younger contemporary of G. Pans of the Swiss de Calve specifically about the ethnic bias of the philosopher, says that we are

Sreznevskyi stated: "I had to remember the time when Skovoroda lived: mystics and quietists played out all over Germany at that time, - Skovoroda visited this country, and forever retained his preference for it over all others, except for his homeland."[266].

In addition, Skovoroda's knowledge of the German language was "perfect" - it was at the level of its natural speakers - even before the young philosopher went abroad on the "expedition" of I. Vishnevsky. At least, we have references to this matter from the pupil of Hryhoriy Savvych — Kovalinsky: "He spoke very efficiently and with particular purity in Latin and German and understood Hellenic enough." This is before the trip. Regarding the excellent knowledge of the German language, Kovalinsky's authority is quite sufficient. A man of broad education, Kovalinsky lived abroad for a long time and apparently had enough data to judge the "special purity" of Skovoroda's German language.[267].

Thirdly, in such a case, is it not possible to consider "pietism" as a common spiritual Protestant platform that united the German and Ukrainian intellectual elites of the 18th century? when constructing them according to the single model of the same "social and political utopia" - an ideal kingdom (of Prussia, 1701) and an ideal empire (of All Russia, 1722)? Moreover, if F. Prokopovich and S. Todorsky, the confessors, and therefore the closest advisers of the two most famous builders of the empire (Peter I and Catherine II) took care of the creation of ideal "structures" of the "pietist state" and "law" - disciplining the "external man (people)", then G. Frying pan - "inner person (people)" and "ethics".

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dealing with a clearly defined national, not territorial and regional identity of the Ukrainian thinker. And if this national identity of the philosopher was blurred to a certain extent, it was probably about his "Ukrainian-German" self-identification.

[266] Sreznevsky I. Excerpts from notes about Elder Hryhorii Skovoroda // Morning Star. Collection of articles in poetry and prose. – Kharkov, 1833. - Book. 1.– P. 69.

[267] Citation by: Ern W. Grigory Savvych Skovoroda. Life and teaching. - M.: Comrade type. AND. And Mamontova, 1912. - S. 59. The German language, in fact, as well as the Hebrew H. Skovoroda mastered it in the class of Simon Todorsky, who first taught these disciplines at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in 1739. As noted by D. Chyzhevsky "probably stayed at the Skovoroda Academy from 1738 / 39 to 1741 / 42 school year" (Chyzhevsky Dm. Philosophy in Ukraine. - Prague: Siyach, 1926. - C. 58). Although D. himself Chyzhevsky does not mention Symeon Todorsky at all, instead he notes possible influences on the future philosopher H. Konysky and M. Kozachinsky, "who had just returned from Germany" (Ibid.).

The moral and ethical question that arises here is the problem of the responsibility of the Ukrainian pietists for the German colonization of Ukraine, since the political dissolution of the political "body" of the Hetmanship was preceded by a "soft colonization of the spirit", the active participants of which were local intellectuals, including Hryhoriy Skovoroda.

Yes, Dr. AND. Mirchuk noted the probable influence of the philosophy of student H. Leibniz - former rector of the University of Halle - Wolff on the Ukrainian intellectual during the latter's studies at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy: "We can accept that... in the days when young Grigoriy was studying, the influence of Wolff's Namet philosophy prevailed... It is not excluded that the metaphysics textbook of Baumgarten, one of the main representatives of the Wolffian school... fell into the hands of Skovoroda, who, in addition to his well-known sympathies for the Germans, knew also good German"[268].

As we can see, I. Mirchuk combined the philosophical views of H. Pans with the teaching of Wolff. Although, in our opinion, a more fruitful approach could be to study the way of thinking of the iconic Ukrainian philosopher from the perspectives of the developments of the religious pietist circle. Slobidska Ukraine ser. XVIII ct. - the main area of Hryhoriy Savvych's educational activity - was simply oversaturated with popular pietist literature: "In the descriptions of the libraries of the Left Bank of Ukraine, the works of German pietists are also presented, which were extremely popular among the pupils of Kyiv-Mohyla. An important role here was played by the direct connections of Kyiv-Mohyla scientists with German philosophers and theologians who belonged to this movement. So Feofan Prokopovich maintained contacts with the center of pietism at the University of Halle, in particular, with his main ideologist Y. Budde and A. Franke is the founder of Slavic studies at the university. AND. F. Budde - a professor of philosophy in Halle, then of theology in Jena, was a prominent systematist of philosophy and theology in Germany until X. Wolff, as a philosopher, is a representative of the early Enlightenment, as a theologian of pietism, a trend in restored (modernized) Protestantism. He systematized the main principles of ethics and dogmatics

[268] Mirchuk I. G. WITH. Skovoroda (Notes on the history of Ukrainian culture) // Proceedings of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague. - 1926. - Volume 1. - P. 25.

of Protestant teaching, where the main thing was "practical faith and life""[269].

Thus, if we try to understand the teachings of G. Frying pans, for example, through the prism of the creative heritage of one of the correspondents of F. Prokopovich - Y. Budde, perhaps most of the "inconsistencies" in the style of thinking of the iconic Ukrainian philosopher will get their organic context. The following features are usually distinguished in the philosophy of the Ukrainian thinker:

1. An almost universally accepted "objection" to Grigory Savvych's philosophy is that he did not create a coherent system and remained an "eclectic". This position is joined by I. Mirchuk: "We very often hear the opinion that Skovoroda is the Ukrainian Socrates... *both of them, like Socrates and Skovoroda, are philosophers without a system*»[270]. And further: "It is impossible to present Skovoroda's thoughts in such a way that his philosophy has the appearance of a system, because Skovoroda actually did not have a system."[271].

The fact that an ideal philosophy should always be eclectic was substantiated in his writings by one of the older contemporaries of the Ukrainian intellectual, who proclaimed "eclecticism" as the leading method of philosophical thinking. This "eclectic methodologist" was Buddha: "in Halle, Buddha was influenced by two important traditions. From a philosophical point of view, Christian Thomas (1655 - 1728) influenced Budde's idea of eclectic philosophy (Philosophia eclectica), so that Budde continued the eclectic tradition started by Thomasius and Johann Christopher Sturm (1635–1703), a graduate of Jena and Altdorf, professor of astronomy and mathematics, who wrote Philosophia eclectica (1686). Theologically, Budde was influenced by the tradition of Halle pietism, whose representatives were Just Joachim Breithaupt and August Hermann Franke. From 1700 to 1705, Budde, together with Thomasius and some other professors, published a collection of works in Halle called "Observationes selectae""[272].

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[269] Dzyuba O. German book in the libraries of Ukraine (XVII century) \\ Ukraine in Central-Eastern Europe. - No. 4. - 2004. - P. 310.

[270] Mirchuk I. G. WITH. Skovoroda (Notes on the history of Ukrainian culture) // Proceedings of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague. - 1926. - Volume 1. - P. 22.

[271] Only there. - P. 23.

2. The absolute majority of analysts see the specificity of the Ukrainian way of thinking in general and creativity of H. Frying pans, in particular, belonging to the call "philosophies of the heart". The essence of this concept is most vividly manifested in the following lines of the Ukrainian philosopher: "If you want to be happy, don't look for your happiness across the seas, don't drag around palaces, don't wander around Jerusalem! money can buy a village, happiness is given everywhere and always stupidly. This is God, and everything else is a creature, a body. He is our happiness... The kingdom of God is within us. Happiness is in the heart, the heart is in Love, Love is in the law of the Eternal. Thanks to the blessed God, who did not make the necessary difficult, but the difficult unnecessary"[273]. Or: "A heart that is honest under a simple dress is worth more than a black soul hidden under a star or a ribbon"[274].

3. The Ukrainian philosopher's orientation to the Bible in the ancient Hebrew language can also be counted among the heritage of pietism:

"Having lived for a certain time in the same house (where he always spent the night in the garden under a bush in the summer, and in the stable in the winter), he took his Hebrew Bible - which consisted of all his possessions - in his pocket, his flute, which he played quite well, on his shoulder and went on until he came across another object worthy of his attention."[275]. About the fact that G. Other authors also testified that Skovoroda read the Bible in the original: "Later, the center of study becomes the Bible, which he obviously also reads in Hebrew. He reads the New Testament in the original, and in his numerous letters to Kovalinsky,

[272] Johann Franz Budde // The Bloomsbury Dictionary of Eighteenth-century German philosophers / Ed. by Heiner F. Klemme and Manfred Kuehn. - New York : Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2016. - P. 108.

[273] Hrushevskyi M. From the history of religious thought in Ukraine. - Lviv, 1925. - C. 124.

[274] De Calve G.G. Skovoroda, Ukrainian philosopher // Ukrainian Bulletin. - 1817. - Ch. 6 (April). - S. 112.

[275] De Calve G.G. Skovoroda, Ukrainian philosopher // Ukrainian Bulletin. - 1817. - P. 114.

he always quotes in Greek..."[276]. "his entire library consisted of Greek or Hebrew Bibles"[277].

He apparently studied the ancient Hebrew language at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy on the courses of S. Todorsky Indeed, "Hess de Calvet says that after entering the bursa (for 6 years), Skovoroda "devoted himself zealously to Hebrew, Greek, and Latin." With Skovoroda's language abilities and with his zealous study, he obviously mastered the Hebrew language to a large extent."[278].

“Skovoroda, who stood for women receiving the same education as men”[279].

[276] Ern V. Grigory Savvich Skovoroda. Life and teaching. - M.: Commodity type. A.I. Mamontova, 1912. - P. 63.

[277] Ibid. - S. 167.

[278] Ibid. - S. 60.

[279] Ibid. - S. 157.

# APPENDIX

## № 1119

### Markel RADISHEVSKY

### ABOUT THE LIFE OF THE HERETIC FEOFAN PROKOPOVICH - FROM THE CASE

### About FEOFAN PROKOPOVYCH

**(Middle XVIII century (boom 1734-1742 (5 pp. 186-190) 21.5x16.7)**

**Cursive**

**Readings OIDR 1862 January March book. I, M. 1862 pp. 1-11.**

**About Prokopovich the heretic (cursive writing)[280*]**

Ark. 3

He, Theophanes, was born in Kyiv and when he came of age he touched the teachings of rhetoric and then left Kyiv for Poland and there he took monastic vows in Volyn in the Polish city of Vladimir from the Uniats of Vrosfor as a monk: and he began to persecute our pious Orthodox Eastern Church and for his zeal the Uniate bishop was nicknamed Zelensky in the local schools made him a prefect and made him a deacon. And they sent him to Rome to the Pope for the sake of perfect study. And there Theophanes spent a considerable time in learning and comprehended many teachings. And he went away from there and put on the mantle himself without the usual tonsure; and again he came to Kyiv and at the beginning of his arrival in Kyiv, Feofan did the deed. By good fortune, he was a zealot, for which they began to love him, and there they appointed him to be a teacher. And how he established himself in that teaching and began to invite Kyiv

[280] Deciphered the manuscript and added comments about the personalities: V. IN. Vashchenko

and Little Russian residents, children and older people to come to him and teach his heresy, and many heresies among the people and countless blasphemies against the holy Orthodox Eastern Catholic Church, and the Pechersk monastery, and the relics of the holy saints of the Blessed, and the myrrh-streaming heads, and the blessed water of his heretical vomit poison, and blaspheme and abuse the priestly and monastic order. Especially from the time of the Great Martyr Barbara's relics they vomited at her tomb in the monastery of the Holy Archangel Michael, called the Golden-Domed One, to blaspheme and revile; why then, in front of all the people, I was tormented by a demon for 3 days; from then on at night until now at different times we are often tormented by demons. However, he did not admit to himself that blessed mercy for the correction but also the bitterest non-verbal teachings but also In Kyiv he began to teach heresy in writing, like the Calvinist and Lutheran and other heresies. And the book of his heretical teaching is now found in Latin among his disciples and others in Kyiv. And many were deceived by those heretical teachings. Also, Saint Athanasius dared to justify the knowledge (of the pope) of the pious edition in Latin in Latin, and to vilify Athanasius's knowledge; and that book is now found in the library of the Kiev-Pechersk monastery. Then another book in the margins, seasoned in many places. What are those buto right

Ark. 4.

but our pious teaching is wrong; and that book is now found in schools, published in a famous fraternal monastery. And those Prokopovichs pointed out heretical reproaches against the holy church, seeing the Kyiv fraternal monastery teacher, Hierodeacon Markel Radyshevsky[281] also other teacher Gideon Vishnevsky[282] The current Bishop of Smolensk defended Orthodoxy and always with him bowed down from the Divine Scriptures and boldly and boldly denounced each of his evil teachings publicly. And in 1713 in Kyiv, in the

[281] *Radyshevskyi Markel (Mykola Romanovych) (? - 29. 11. 1742).* One of the opponents of the reforms of Peter I, who directed his opposition to F. Prokopovich, a former teaching colleague at the Kyiv Academy in the 1710s. Thanks to Feofan in 1724 received the rank of Archimandrite of Pskov-Pechersk. Later - the Yuryiv Monastery. In 1725, during an interrogation at the Transfiguration Chancellery on charges of stealing jewels from the Pechersk Monastery, Radyshevskyi began to expose Theophan in "contradictions to the Orthodox Church", in Lutheranism, and this became the beginning of a process that dragged on for many years and involved many nobles. Markel himself was kept under "strong guard" in the Transfiguration Order for several years, then lived in the Simon Monastery. Having become close to Empress Anna's clergyman, Varlaam, Markel once again began to denounce Feofan for his "heretical teachings" and even wrote "The Life of Novgorod Archbishop, Heretic Feofan Prokopovich." He was arrested again and sentenced to death, but he was pardoned and exiled to the Belozersky monastery (1732). In 1740, Markel Radyshevskyi was finally dismissed, re-appointed abbot of the Yuriev Monastery and rector of the Novgorod Seminary.

Bratsky Monastery, in front of a large Assembly, these teachers, Radyshevsky and Vishnevsky, publicly denounced Prokopovich's evil and wrong teaching; and in addition to this denunciation, the teacher Gideon Vishnevsky arrived in Moscow about Theophan's heretical teaching and temptations, announced in writing to the Reverend Stefan[283] Metropolitan of Ryazan and Murom and the entire consecrated Cathedral and in 1718, when in St. Petersburg they wanted to install Evo Prokopovich as bishop, then the Right Reverend Stefan, Metropolitan of Ryazan and Theophylact Lopatinsky[284] and Gideon Vishnevsky and Greek

[282] *Gedeon Vishnevskyi (June 19, 1678 - June 2, 1761, Smolensk)* - rector of the Moscow Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy, educator, archimandrite, bishop of Smolensk and Dorogobuzky, founder of the Smolensk Seminary. He received his higher education at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.. He also studied in Vilnius, Krakow and Lviv. Received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Subsequently, he became a teacher of political science and rhetoric at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. What remained was the rhetoric course he read at the KMA (1711 - 1712 academic year) - "Regia sublimibus eloquentiae alta columnis nobil Roxolanae iuventuti exstructa anno 1711 mense Novembri die 6" ("The high royal palace, erected by lofty columns of eloquence, for the noble youth of Ukraine in the year 1711, on the 6th day of the month of November"). In 1714, Vishnevsky was called to Moscow to the position of professor of rhetoric, and later - of philosophy at the Moscow Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy. Developed a Latin-language philosophy course "The Universal Philosophy of Aristotle, presented according to the manner of Christian truth." 3 in 1718 - prefect, from 1720 - rector and professor of theology of the Moscow Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy and archimandrite of the Moscow Zaikonospassky monastery. Since 1728 - bishop of Smolensk and Dorogobuzky. He founded the Smolensk Seminary, schools in Dorohobuzh, Roslavl, Bila and Toporka. Vyshnevskyi always relied on the achievements of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and supported its good reputation. He is credited with the well-known saying, "The Kyiv Academy has always abounded with people and scientists, and from it, as from those glorious Athens, all of Russia drew a source of wisdom." He was engaged in historical research, compiled "Historical description of the city of Smolensk" and "Addition to the history of the Moscow Academy" (1726). Buried in Smolensk Dormition Cathedral.

[283] *Stefan Yavorskyi (Semen Ivanovich Yavorskyi)* (1658, Yavor, Lviv region - 1722). Origin - petty nobility. He received his primary education at a brother's school (in Turka or in Yavor). 1673 enters the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. He won the favor of the rector - Varlaam Yasynskyi, later Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halytskyi. With the blessing of V. Yasynsky accepts Uniatism and enters the Lviv Jesuit Collegium. He studies in the colleges of Lublin, Poznan, Vilna. He studies philosophy courses of professors Jan Moravskyi and Jan Mlodzianovskyi. Creates own philosophy course. For his success in Vilno, he was appointed to the position of head of the "Congregation of the Holy Virgin". Accepts monasticism under the name of Stanislav. As a result of criticism of certain provisions of Catholicism, he leaves Vilna. He returned to Kyiv in 1698. He renounced his unionism and took the exams at the KMA for a master's degree in liberal arts, philosophy and theology and taught in the poetry class. He arranges his own courses in

teachers Sophronius Likhudis[285] and Anastasios Panehakos[286] and others defended the Holy Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church from the heretical storm and from the temptations of the fallen Western churches. They sent Prokopovich with their own hands to St. Petersburg against him with many points, denouncing his heretical teaching, not allowing him to receive the episcopal throne, and he was elected Theophanes as a bishop and was released to his diocese. Then, having arrived in Narva, he gathered many foreign people under the commandant to the Church of the All-Merciful Savior Sukhotin, after his service, spoke the most heretical testimony of the holy saints of God blasphemed; also in Pskov and in the

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philosophy and psychology, writes works on dogmatics "On the Holy Trinity" and "On the Church". During a visit to Moscow, he delivers a speech at the funeral of the boyar Shein. The speech was liked by Peter I and the hieromonk of Kyiv in 1700. leave in Moscow. Becomes the protector of the Moscow Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy. He founded a theater at the academy and managed it. Takes an active part in the reforms of Peter I. 1700 he was ordained as the Metropolitan of Ryazan and Murom. 1702 becomes exarch and vicar of the All-Russian patriarchal throne. From the same time - disputes and disagreements with Feofan Prokopovich. 1715 finished the main theological work "The Stone of Faith". 1721 appointed head of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church. He is seriously ill, hardly participates in his work. He died on November 24, 1722. Buried in Pereyaslav-Ryazanskyi (Don Monastery, under the Church of the Ascension).

[284] *Theophylact of Lopatyna (1670s-1741).* Theologian and church leader, originally from Volyn. Student and professor of the Kyiv Academy. After becoming the protector of the Moscow Slavic-Greco-Latin Academy, Yavorsky invited well-known Kyiv professors, including Theophylact Lopatynskyi. From 1704 - professor, from 1706 rector of the Moscow Theological Academy, member of the Holy Synod, bishop of Tver (1723). He participated in the re-editing of the Ostroh Bible. As an opponent of F. Prokopovich was arrested in 1736, stripped of his rank in 1738 and imprisoned; amnestied in 1740.

[285] *Sophrony Lihuda (1652-1730).* Greek by origin. Born on Kefalonia. He studied at the University of Padua. By the decision of the Eastern Patriarchs, together with his brother Ioannikiy (1633-1717), he was sent to Moscow (1685) to establish an Orthodox academy. He taught Greek (with his brother) in the Epiphany Monastery. After that, in the Zaikonospass Monastery, where the Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy was established. Sophronius taught a course in natural philosophy based on Aristotle's Physics. Lykhuds also read rhetoric and logic, stopping at the course of physics and not reaching philosophy, psychology and metaphysics. Feophylact Lopatynskyi was the first to give a complete philosophy course in Moscow. In 1694, Sophronius was suspended from teaching at the academy for political reasons, mainly because of a conflict with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dosipheus. From 1708 to 1722 Sophronius was a teacher at the Printing School. Since 1723 - Archimandrite of the Ryazan Solotchyna Monastery. During the period of persecution, Lihuda created a number of polemical works: "Shield of Faith", "Osten" (directed against Catholics) and "Lutor's Heresies" (against Protestants). Together with his brother, he became famous for the disputes he had with the Protestant preacher Yan Bilobotsky and the supporter of Latin education Sylvester Medvedev.

Pskov Pechersk Monastery he told the same heretical testimony to the people and took the best monastic things and removed the pearls from the patrachion and the shroud and returned to St. Petersburg and began to compile and write heretical books in collaboration with Theodos[287]: with this heretical teaching, and with great courage and boldness, they began to clearly fight the all-holy Church and destroy and transform all its dogmas and traditions, and introduce and root godless Lutheranism and other heretics. And then it was very from them

Sheet 4 (summary)

it was a deplorable time among the people: they taught to be everywhere against piety, safe conversations, and whoever wanted to speak reproach against the church, and to have every depraved and weak life, they taught boldly: and so then the holy church was reviled and destroyed with all its dogmas and charters and traditions, that every pious Christian good deed was called in one word superstition and although among them heretics there was a heavy drunkard, and an impudent and foul-mouthed person, and a buffoon, he was called and considered a simple-hearted and pious person and was elevated to the highest spiritual honors according to their heretical representation; who, although a person of little fasting or abstinence and a pious man, was also called a schismatic, a hypocrite, a hypocrite, a godless, and a very unkind person: as can be seen even now with him, Prokopovich, in all his accomplices; and in his first cell Advisor Adam, and whoever is like that, he is Theophan from them persecution and hatred. And from profitable noble persons, and from their

[286] No information about the person was found.

[287] *Feodosii Yanovsky (Feodor Yanovsky)*(1673-1726) — archbishop of Novgorod and Velikolutsky. Belonged to the Smolensk nobility. Graduated from the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (or the Moscow Zaikonospas Academy). He was a Ryasofor novice (monk) of the Moscow Simon Monastery. For slandering Archimandrite Bartholomew, he was exiled to the Trinity-Sergius Monastery. Released by Archimandrite of the Trinity-Sergius Monastery Iov. In 1697 he came to Novgorod together. 1701 ordained by Job as abbot. In 1704 appointed by Iov as the archimandrite of the Novgorod Spaso-Varlam Khutyn monastery. He did not show any special knowledge. He did not leave a single theological work or sermon. Belonged to the "Protestant" network of F. Prokopovicha. A good administrator. In 1708 met with Peter I and was appointed a spiritual judge in St. Petersburg - to oversee the church affairs of conquered cities (Narva, Shlisselburg...). Since 1710 builds the Alexander Nevsky Monastery. Since 1712 - archimandrite of the future Lavra. Since 1721 consecrated as bishop of Novgorod and Veliko Lutsk with elevation to the rank of archbishop. He managed the Novgorod Diocese from St. Petersburg. The first vice-president of St. Synod, while F. Prokopovich is the second vice-president. He participated in the meetings of the Secret Chancellery. April 25, 1725 arrested for harsh remarks against Catherine I. Perhaps this case was initiated by F. Prokopovich. May 11, 1725 was exiled and imprisoned. September 8, 1725 deposed He died on February 5, 1726.

superiors, many innocent people are turned off and promised; and with such fear almost the entire monastic rank has been turned into the very fearlessness and weakness of such that many still get drunk, and eat meat entirely, and instead of books in cells and churches, they hold snuff boxes in their hands, and incessantly sniff the alcohol. Yes, this is Feofan and his comrades, Theophilus the Rabbit[288], Gabriel Ryazansky[289], Gorki[290], and others, with heretical diligence, in newly published printed books, intolerant blasphemies and many heresies are found against the Holy Church: namely, the book about the beatitudes, all filled with Luthorian and other heretical teachings, also about the Interpretation of Theology

[288] *Feofil Krolik (? - 1732, Moscow).* He was born in the Hetman region. Graduated from the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Teacher (1711-1713), prefect (1713-1716) of the Moscow Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy. Translator from German into Czech of the four-volume "Historical Universal Dictionary" of the pietist theologian I.-F. Buddha(I). Co-author (together with *F. Prokopovich)* "Spiritual Regulations" and "Appendices to the Rules of Consecration of the Ecclesiastical and Monastic Order" (1721-1722). Archimandrite of the Novospassky Monastery (1722-1724). Archimandrite of the Moscow Chudovsky Monastery (1724-1727). Removed from the post of archimandrite due to hidden disgrace - as a result of slander of M. Radyshevsky. Councilor St. Synod (1724-1725). After the death of Peter I, St. Synod (1726). Manager of affairs of the Moscow Synod Office (1725-1726). Chaplain in the Russian auxiliary army under the Austrian army (1727-1730). Archimandrite of the Novospassky Monastery (1730-1732). Translated "Word about the God-given world» *F. Lopatinsky*, "Georgia is interesting" by V. Hochberg, "Catechism of Cyril of Jerusalem", "Models from the Church of Solomon", "On the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit" by A. Zernikov (1723-1724).

[289] *Gavriil Buzhynskyi (1680 – 04.14.1731).* Born in Slobid Ukraine. He received his education at the Kyiv Academy. 1706 summoned by Peter I to Moscow. He accepted monasticism in September 1707. In 1709 he became a prefect and prof. of philosophy and theology of the Moscow Academy. 1719 - 21 – hieromonk of the Peter fleet. After the establishment of the Synod, he became its advisor and protector of all schools and printing houses in Russia. Archimandrite of the Ipatiivskyi (1721) and Trinity-Sergius (1722–26) monasteries. From 1726 - bishop of Ryazan and Murom. He was engaged in the organization of school education, book printing, translations. Translated (from Latin) mainly Protestant authors: "Introduction to European history by Samuil Puffendorf» (M., 1718), “Theatron, or the historical shame of V. Strateman» (M., 1724), “Samuel Puffendorf on the duties of man and citizen» (St. Petersburg, 1726). Participated in the translation of "Apollodorus grammar of the Athenian library or about the gods» (Moscow, 1725). The author of the prefaces to the works of S. Puffendorf, V. Strateman. Compiler of the collection "Youth is an honest mirror». After the death of Peter I, he was accused of heresy. The Secret Service opened an investigation against him. Buzhinsky's translations were banned and removed from book collections. Most copies of books by B. was located in Left Bank Ukraine. Known as a preacher, a panegyrist of the reforms of Peter I.

[290] *Lavrentii Horka (1671—20. IV 1737)* - Ukrainian writer and scientist, educational and church figure of Ukraine and Russia of the first third of the 18th century. He was born in

of the Unbearable Yoke of the Old Testament, about marriages with non-believers, a primer with interpretation, about the pontifex, spiritual regulations, Fuatron, New Confession, service about the reconciliation of Russia with the Swedish state, Pufendorf, about written fasts: printed and written teachings: extremely harmful and tempting. And during the publication of these books he was Prokopovich vice-president of the Synod; and sitting with them, the heretics and their comrades, since they caused great annoyance and persecution and embitterment of the church: the entire Russian pious people saw their eyes weeping with heart disease: and they know about all their heretical villainy: in all over the state, chapels were destroyed, monastery (relics of saints)

they took them out dishonestly: and where the stone chapel walls remained, there, instead of prayers and psalmody... they were allowed to sell tobacco and proshkom and shave beards: they took miraculous icons from everywhere, on festering carts: under the filthy ones

Ark. 5

in the Synod, the coffins of the saints were clearly brought to all the people; for their luxury, for expensive drinks, for music and dances and cards and with their comrades, the young monks would marry and the young nuns to marry encroachment was blessed; they started music and various games and comedies; For the deceased, the reading of the psalms was suspended at the graves of the deceased, and they ordered all the graves to be razed to the ground; and this atrocity was all from their heretical host. What is he Prokopovich philosophizing about and what is he teaching the people, and in this shown teacher Markel Radyshevsky in the Supreme Secret Council reported to him here for guidance:

1.

The Most Pure Mother of God and the Holy Saints should not be called upon or prayed to for help; and whoever prays and calls for help is called a superstition.

2.

It is not proper to bow down to the relics of saints. After all, this is the same Godless thing.

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Lviv in the family of a Cossack (Stayki). Graduated from the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. He worked as a teacher there. Following the example of Feofan Prokopovich's piety in 1707-1708. wrote and read to students his poetics course "Idea artis poëseos". In May 1708 his tragicomedy "Joseph the Patriarch" was also performed on the stage of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Palko supported the reforms of Peter I, condemned the "treason" of Mazepa. Since 1713 L. Gorka - abbot of the Vydubek Monastery in Kyiv; 1721 - Archimandrite of the Resurrection (New Jerusalem on Istra) Monastery in the Moscow Diocese. 1722 takes part in the Persian campaign as the commander of the army and navy. He was ordained as the bishop of Astrakhan (1723). For 15 years, he held episcopal chairs in various places in Russia, except for Astrakhan. Since 1727 until 1731 - in Ustyug; from 1731 to 1733 - in Ryazan; since 1733 and until his death (April 9 (20) 1737) - m. Vyatka 1735 - reorganized the Vyatka diocesan school into a seminary. Buried in the local Cathedral Trinity Church.

3.

He scolded Saint Nicholas the Wonderworker many times with the most vile words.

4.

Whichever saints there are, the relics that are being acquired in Russia, or false or righteous, it is not appropriate for all of them to bow down.

5.

The works of miracles from the holy relics in Russia were not all false and one should not believe them: and those that are printed here in the books are all unrighteous.

6.

The veneration of saints does not honor holy icons; they call them idols.

7.

From the icons of saints, all the miracles that happen are false.

8.

He spat and scolded on the relics of the saints and held the relics in his hands and said: I desecrated my hands and then washed my hands with water.

9.

For the sake of the holy fools, Christ calls all the Muscovites whores and for their idleness and fornication with noble wives and the graves of them fornicators. They built them with their own money and brought them out among the saints with respect.

10.

He scolded Saint Theodosius with the most stingy words because she overthrew the spatharius from her right hand, whose svikrov struck at the head of the image of Christ; and if her deeds had been at that time, they would have been countless... and then she would have put to death the one who had done well.

11.

I am diligent in order to destroy the Kyiv Caves.

12.

Who is a hermit in the deserts, and even more so the cave dwellers, those men must be cruelly driven out of there with whips so that they do not want to live honestly in the world; But the boss was disgusted with their submission and climbed into the dark places like some kind of shura, but they were still sleeping and chilling.

13.

Not only is he a heretic, but all his followers scold consecrated water and regard it as nothing and condemn it as superstition.

14.

Bowing, mortifying the flesh or wearing iron on the flesh is useless and bad and there is no benefit, but it does harm to the body and soul.

15.

The entire Russian people of icons are called idolizers and god-fighters.

16.

Liturgy is not necessary unless there are pre-chastinas.

17.

Bringing incense candles and other candles to church is also superstitious.

18.

The Walking of the Cross is the most ungodly thing and leads countless people into eternal torment.

Ark. 6.

19.

His confession, which is called auricular or alone from the spiritual father, is by no means indecent.

20.

There should not be any consecration of oil on the sick; and there is no benefit, it's just superstition.

21.

He calls the Ecumenical Patriarchs Jews and heretics, to the detriment of his very opponents, and if they do not repent, he will excommunicate and anathematize them in the vestment of superstition.

22.

He calls Orthodox bishops priests and Pharisees.

23.

He extremely scolds the monastic ranks and calls them very disgusting to God.

24.

I wanted to set aside church singing, hymns, canons and so on, which is disgusting and offensive to people, just the same psalter reading of the Old or New Testament.

25.

In his church, he never orders the canons to be read.

26.

He wanted to burn the akathist and called it a superstitious and ungodly book.

27.

He ordered the prologue of the book to be blackened by the heretic Pribilovich with the monk Theodos and Gavril of Ryazan and with whom he destroyed all that book and that black book is now in Nava Grad.

28.

Some menaions called heretical books and wished for them the burning and final destruction.

29.

The books of Exodus Esther, Judith, Jude James and the Hebrews of the Holy Apostle Paul were quickly spoken of and called apocrypha.

30.

The interpretation of the Holy Fathers on the Holy Scriptures was quick to say everything harmful and unrighteous.

Sheet 6, no.

31.

Praying to God for the dead is by no means proper and is very superstitious, and this was invented by the priests for their own profit.

32.

The church hymn composed by Saint Damascus and other Saints was greatly reviled and destroyed.

33.

The helmsman's book is obscene and contains false canons. He said and judged that it should not be based on it and that it should be dismissed.

34.

Ponakhida for the dead: and the commemoration of doing great deeds of superstition and idleness is.

35.

There are no airy ordeals, but only two paths, good and evil.

36.

From Epatrahel, and the swaddled stones and pearls, he himself stripped them and ordered them to be sold, and that Epatrahel is now in the Synod.

37.

Bishops in all their ranks are equal to simple priests.

38.

Marriage is no secret.

39.

The priesthood also evaporates in secret.

40.

Eating meat on all Wednesdays, and on Fridays, and during fasting is not a sin not only for the worldly, but also for the monk; and claiming that meat-eating, you yourself eat and everyone at home always eat, and openly tell them to eat.

41.

In Russia, all churches should have music, and for this reason, Comrade Gabriel, by his consent, wrote at length about this.

42.

It is by faith alone in Christ the Lord that every person is saved.

43.

Good deeds are not a part of our salvation, and without them we can be saved.

Ark. 7.

44.

In this way every person is saved and justified only by the single suffering of Christ the Lord.

45.

There is only one intercessor for God and man, Christ the Lord.

46.

Luthor's teaching is all straightforward: true, and he said that their teachers were true, and for the sake of this, everyone who wants salvation should read their teaching.

47.

The Greek and Great Russian Church are superstitious in everything, only in the present ceremony, but the Augustinian confession is the most direct and inclusive.

48.

Everything that the Augustinian confession contains is direct, righteous and true, and so should be kept from everyone, but the Greek confession is for the most part not direct and superstitious and false.

That they boast of being a heretic, wicked in malice, in their evil heresy is more than piety; You overthrow the Orthodox Church with your heretics, for this sake God will destroy you completely. As for your comrades, Fedos and the fan: they will see piety and rejoice and say: this heretic did not call on the Mother of God and the Holy Saints for help and disappeared after his father Satan.

In the Menaion of the Fourth of February 25 in the life of St. Tarasius the Patriarch of Tsargrad on sheet 7 (1), 42 m, a sice is printed on the back. Those who do not venerate the Holy Icons are anathema. To those who call holy icons idols: anathema. Those who bring words from Divine Scripture against the Holy Icons: anathema. Those who reject the traditions of the Holy Fathers, just as they reject the Arias, Nestories, Eutyches, Dioscorus, those who do not want to accept the same essence from the Divine Scripture are shown to them: anathema. To those who say that holy icons are not from the Holy Fathers, the traditions are quick: anathema. To those who say that the Catholic Church accepts idols: anathema.

Feofan Prokopovich from the holy fathers it was written to your brothers as a heretic vivat and now from us the torch will be for you and your comrades.

The previously mentioned monk from the Kiev fraternal monastery. Then be in Nove Grad, in Yuryev

Ark. 7 links

At the monastery, Archimandrite Markel Radyshevsky in the Supreme Privy Council; on these points he denounced you specifically for your truthful denunciation and for your zeal for piety and for the protection of the Holy Church; he was retired from archimandry; and was excommunicated from the monastery and to this day suffers in exile and imprisonment in the same place; and now he has been sitting in the Simonov Monastery for four years without ending; and on those points, with compassion, the judge always wants a confrontation. And then the heretic, by his own strength, seeks to kill his accuser after many years in prison, thinks that he is not recognized in that crafty heresy. The retinue is notably afraid of the Scripture that says, wickedness will not be resurrected in judgment, below sinners are worthy to come to the council of the righteous; and another: I was born and did not get sick, I desecrated my thought and did not understand; The informers call you a heretic, denounce you in writing, but you are silent, you are not in a hurry to answer, you are not asking for justice; so that they don't make it public and force an answer against their will. And if you had that right, you would have sought justice long ago and asked for defense for your dishonor. And now, even though a little kid calls you a heretic to your face, how can you straighten yourself out from under such reproach?

Here everyone will deign to judge: who does Russia now have as its chief shepherd? whom he calls the chief bishop: calls the first and chief bishop: the oath-bearer who was appointed deacon of the Roman Church: the monastic rank and mantle outside the monastery on the field was put on himself by the daring heretic, who was clearly and incessantly tormented from the body of Theophan Prokopovich.

We now see Her Imperial Majesty undergoing righteous judgment for failure to preserve the honor of Her Imperial Majesty, the bishops and the Lord, the former high person: what punishment does she accept according to her deeds?

The miracle is truly and terrible: Her Imperial Majesty's health and worthy honor are protected, and the divine weight is despised, but God is never mocked.

Ark. 8

Know it is known from orthodoxy: that everyone who is a heretic welcomes the enemies of the Church of Christ and has friendship with them and is an enemy of Christ himself. Like whoever makes friends with the enemy of the Tsar, he is not a friend of the Tsars but an enemy; sitsa become an enemy of the holy church; he is not a slave who is faithful to Christ, but is hostile to him. And just as a son loving and an enemy from his father does not love his father, they themselves are worthy of love from their father: if a Christian is loving and enemies of Christ are: Christ for those who love him: how can one say from

oneself that one loves Christ, who communicates with a heretic, if one truly loves Christ, be far from the Commonwealth with heretics. No less than a real heretic is the one who knows the heresy behind him and loves him and has friendship with him. The Lord said: If anyone denies me before men, I will deny him, and I will sow the words of the Lord before my father who is in heaven. It is truly fitting to tear apart the Holy Church: by heretics and their lovers.

Go, our God, grant us with righteous judgment and right faith and zeal for piety and decree of the most merciful Empress Anna Ioanovna, to see the heretic Prokopovich: with his comrades on Red Square or in the swamp in the same glory as we saw Thomas Tsyryulin: may his memory be greatly glorified: with all his comrades in Great Assumption Church, on the week of Orthodoxy in the lamprey of summer. Amen.

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*Scientific edition*

**Valery Werner, Volodymyr Vashchenko**

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